✓ Philad. & Del.

The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

Universal Military Training

A special 24-page section analyzing the report of the U.M.T. Commission to Congress and discussing the legislation which it recommends

---

'As the Truth Is in Jesus'

By George Florovsky

National Council Hesitations

An Editorial

DECEMBER 19, 1951

In This Issue

GEORGE FLOROVSKY

is dean and professor of divinity at St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, New York, adjunct professor in the history and doctrine of Eastern Orthodoxy at Union Theological Seminary, and associate in religion at Columbia University. Dr. Florovsky was born in Odessa, Russia, in 1893. After graduating and doing research at the University of Odessa, he was appointed a lecturer in philosophy at that university in 1919. He left Russia in 1920. From 1926 to 1948 he was on the faculty of the Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris. In 1948 he came to this country. He was ordained as a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church in 1932, and has been given honorary degrees by St. Andrew's University, Scotland, and Boston University. He has taken part in practically all ecumenical conferences since Edinburgh 1937, and is a member of the central and executive committees of the World Council of Churches. In the World Council he represents the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Istanbul. With this article by Dr. Florovsky the series on "What Can I Preach in Such a Time as This?" is concluded. The series began on Jan. 10 with an article by Bishop Stephen Neill of the World Council, assistant to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

JO-MARIE RUDDELL

is working on a community project in Rapid City, S.D., where her husband, G. Richard Ruddell, is coordinator of the mayor's committee on human relations. This is an enterprise of the American Friends Service Committee. Mrs. Ruddell has served as religious education director in several churches.

HUGH D. DARSIE

is minister of the Flatbush Christian Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., and a member of the General Board of the National Council of Churches. He has been appointed staff correspondent for this paper to cover the National Council.

Contents

EDITORIAL
- Editorial Paragraphs 1451
- National Council Hesitations 1454

SIMEON STYLITES: Sleight of Hand 1456

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES
- 'As the Truth is in Jesus,' by George Florovsky 1457
- Miss Ada and Miss Ida and the Atom Bomb, by Jo-Marie Ruddell 1459

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING (Special Section)
- U.M.T.—The Hour of Decision 1463
- Analysis of Report to Congress 1465
- U.M.T.—A Giant Hoax 1472
- Education in the Army, by Robert M. Hutchins 1474
- Your Boy and U.M.T., by Pearl S. Buck 1475
- U.M.T.—The Dream and the Reality 1476
- An Interview with Einstein, by Edwin Randall 1477
- U.M.T. and the National Guard 1478
- Will U.M.T. Militarize America? 1480
- The 'Successful Experiment' at Fort Knox 1481
- U.M.T.—The Enormous Cost 1482
- U.M.T.—What Can We Do About It? 1483

BOOKS
- One and Holy, by Karl Adam 1485
- The One Church, by Clarence Tucker Craig 1485

CORRESPONDENCE 1486

NEWS OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD 1488-1495

CURRENT FEATURE FILMS 1495

The Christian Century

Established 1884, as *The Christian Oracle.*
Name changed to *The Christian Century* 1900.
Refounded 1908 by Charles Clayton Morrison and developed as an undenominational journal of religion.

PAUL HUTCHINSON, *Editor*
HAROLD E. FEY, *Managing Editor*
GARLAND EVANS HOPKINS, *Associate Editor*
CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON, *Contributing Editor*
WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON, *Literary Editor*
MARGARET FRAKES, *Associate Editor*
CECELIA C. GAUL, *Copy Editor*
ROBERT L. WILLETT, *Publisher*
LEONARD S. MEYER, *Business Manager*

Staff Correspondents

Hampton Adams (St. Louis)
Gertrude L. Apel (Seattle)
C. D. Brodhead (Philadelphia)
C. E. Bryant (Waco, Tex.)
George Buckner, Jr. (Indianapolis)
F. W. Burnham (Richmond, Va.)
J. Henry Carpenter (New York)
Walter D. Cavert (Syracuse)
T. P. Chalker (Greenville, Ala.)
Walter E. Daniels (Cleveland)
Hugh D. Darsie (National Council)
W. Edgar Gregory (San Francisco)
George R. Grose (Los Angeles)
Nathanael M. Guptill (Boston)
W. Bruce Hadley (Omaha)
G. Merrill Lenox (Detroit)
Harland G. Lewis (Bangor, Me.)
Virgil E. Lowder (Chicago)
Elwood R. Maunder (Columbus, Ohio)
Freda S. O'Neall (Denver)
W. K. Patterson (Kansas City, Mo.)
F. E. Reisig (Washington, D. C.)
W. W. Richardson (Providence, R. I.)
Henry G. Ruark (Weldon, N. C.)
Alfred W. Swan (Madison, Wis.)
Alva W. Taylor (Nashville)
W. L. Thorkelson (Minneapolis)
J. M. Trimmer (Huntington, W. Va.)
Raymond B. Walker (Portland, Ore.)
O. M. Walton (Pittsburgh)
James P. Wesberry (Atlanta)
J. Clyde Wheeler (Oklahoma City)
E. Ralph Wiborg (New Haven)
Marshall Wingfield (Memphis)
G. Baez-Camargo (Mexico)
Bernard Causton (World Council)
João Del Nero (Brazil)
Walter H. Griswold (Hawaii)
E. Gueron (Turkey)
K. E. Jordt Jörgensen (Scandinavia)
Mikko Juva (Finland)
Grace K. Kerr (Japan)
Innes Logan (Scotland)
Focko Lüpsen (West Germany)
A. T. McNaughton (Australia)
James R. Mutchmor (Toronto)
J. O. Norel (Holland)
Cecil Northcott (England)
P. Oomman Philip (India)
Stanley G. Pitts (South Africa)
DeCourcy H. Rayner (Montreal)
W. T. Thomas (Southeast Asia)
Hugh J. Williams (Puerto Rico)
Malcolm Wilson (New Zealand)
Pedro Zottele (Chile)

Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1900, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Copyright 1951 by Christian Century Foundation. All rights reserved.
Published weekly by Christian Century Foundation, 407 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill.

$6.50 a year. Canadian postage, 50 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.50 extra. Single copy, 15 cents.

The Christian Century is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to be found in all libraries.

Coming Events

Nov. 22-Dec. 25. Worldwide Bible Reading Observance.
Dec. 23. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Otto P. Kretzmann, speaker.
Dec. 23. Reorganized Latter-Day Saints Annual Presentation of the *Messiah*, Columbia Broadcasting system.
Dec. 23-Jan. 5. Southeast Asia Professors' Conference, Bandung, Java, Indonesia.
Dec. 25. Christmas Day.
Dec. 27-29. Midwest Midwinter Retreat (Camps Farthest Out), Austin Baptist Church, Chicago; theme: "God's Reach and Man's Search"; Glenn Clark, Norman Elliott, Glenn Harding, Elton Trueblood, speakers.
Dec. 27-Jan. 1. Student Volunteer Movement for Christian Missions 16th Quadrennial Conference, Lawrence, Kan.
Dec. 30. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; E. Stanley Jones, speaker.
Jan. 3-6. National Council of Churches Division of Foreign Missions Annual Meeting, Toronto.
Jan. 4-11. Universal Week of Prayer.
Jan. 6. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Harold Cooke Phillips, speaker.
Jan. 6. Epiphany.
Jan. 6-11. N.C.C. Department of Broadcasting and Films Religious Radio Workshop, Schenectady, N. Y.
Jan. 7. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County Ministerial Union Lecture Series, Pittsburgh; James L. Kelso, speaker.
Jan. 8. New York Institute for Religious and Social Studies; themes: "Theological Sources of the Western Faiths," "Authority and Freedom," "Moments of Discovery"; John C. Bennett, John M. Clark, Mordecai M. Kaplan, speakers.
Jan. 13. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Henry Hitt Crane, speaker.
Jan. 15. New York Institute for Religious and Social Studies; John C. Bennett, Eugene J. McCarthy, Harold Taylor, speakers.
Jan. 17-24. Congregational Christian Council for Social Action Semiannual Meeting, New York.
Jan. 20. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Reinhold Niebuhr, speaker.
Jan. 20-26. Church and Economic Life Week.
Jan. 21-24. Congregational Christian Missions Council, Cleveland.
Jan. 22. New York Institute for Religious and Social Studies; Eugene Gallagher, Ben Zion Bokser, Richard McKeon, speakers.
Jan. 27-Feb. 3. Youth Week.
Jan. 28-30. Minnesota State Pastors' Conference, Minneapolis.
Jan. 28-Feb. 1. Chicago Theological Seminary 91st Annual Ministers' Week.
Jan. 29-31. Chicago Theological Seminary Alden Tuthill Lectures; J. S. Whale, speaker.
Jan. 29-Feb. 1. National Lutheran Council 34th Annual Meeting, Atlantic City, N. J.
Feb. 6. Pittsburgh and Allegheny County Ministerial Union Lecture Series; George Florovsky, speaker.
Feb. 10. Race Relations Sunday.
Feb. 10-16. N.C.C. Division of Christian Education Annual Meetings, Columbus, Ohio.
Feb. 13-14. Augustana Theological Seminary Midwinter Convocation, Rock Island, Ill.; E. G. Homrighausen, Halford E. Luccock, speakers.
Feb. 17. Universal Day of Prayer for Students (United Student Christian Council).
Feb. 17-24. Brotherhood Week.
Feb. 27. Ash Wednesday.
Feb. 29. World Day of Prayer (N.C.C. General Department of United Church Women).

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXVIII CHICAGO, DECEMBER 19, 1951 NUMBER 51

EDITORIAL

ONE of the highest honors attainable by a French citizen has come to Albert Schweitzer. The famous medical missionary-philosopher-musician from Lambaréné has been elected a member of the French Academy. L'Académie Française is a self-perpetuating body of forty "immortals," who attend meetings clad in ceremonial uniforms and wearing swords. To be elected to the academy is to attain the summit of fame in France. It is a rule that a new member takes his seat by pronouncing a eulogy on the predecessor whose death created the vacancy the new "immortal" has been chosen to fill. In the present instance this may, at first glance, seem to place Dr. Schweitzer in a difficult position, for he fills the vacancy caused by the death of Marshal Pétain. Marshal Pétain died disgraced, alone, imprisoned, a convicted traitor under suspended sentence of death. How eulogize such a figure? Dr. Schweitzer will, of course, have his own answer. We will not be surprised, however, if he should make the occasion one of the most memorable in the modern history of the academy with his oration on Pétain. For he has an opportunity to say something which greatly needs to be said about the changing judgments of history, the cruelty and unreliability of the verdicts rendered while the passions of war warp men's minds, the contrast between the savagery of the immediate and the healing of time. It may be that he will say none of these things. Yet he could say them as wisely and unforgettably as any man now alive. Whatever he says, the world will listen.

Schweitzer Must Make Another Speech

American Catholics to Hold Bible Week

AN IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT within the Roman Catholic Church, and one which too few Protestants have noted, is underlined by the announcement that American members of that church will observe next February 10 to 16 as Bible Week. This is to be the first such week in the United States. Possibly that means it will be the first anywhere, for the United States is about the only country that goes in for "weeks"—philanthropic, nutritional and even ecclesiastical. Our Catholic brethren will celebrate the coming Bible Week in the usual manner. Seven publishing firms, says the Catholic Biblical Association, in cooperation with the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, have prepared posters, sermon outlines and a packet of other materials which will help parishes make their observance effective. Fifty radio stations will carry special programs. We fully expect to see special editions of the Roman Catholic church papers. There is nothing unfamiliar about such methods. The point is, however, that they are being used, with the full power of the hierarchy behind them, to encourage Roman Catholic laity to read the Bible. This is not a development confined to the United States. It is going on widely throughout Roman Catholicism—almost everywhere, in fact, except in the Latin nations, and even there it is not wholly unknown. Of course, when a Roman Catholic layman reads the Bible he is expected to do so under clerical guidance. Nevertheless, he is reading, and that is what counts. The great demand for new unofficial translations of the Scriptures by Catholic scholars, such as those by Msgr. Ronald Knox, and for the revisions being prepared by papal commissions, shows what deep root this Bible-reading movement is taking. The old picture of a Catholic laity shut away from direct access to the Bible by clerical restrictions no longer holds good. On the contrary, much of the Roman clergy is enthusiastically in favor of Bible-reading by the laity. Here is one of the most encouraging developments in contemporary church life.

A Journalistic Stunt That Boomeranged

IT IS HARD to decide which had more meaning—the by now famous issue of *Collier's* for October 27 or the letters from contributors to that issue which the *Nation* printed on December 8. The issue of *Collier's* was planned as a journalistic sensation. The letters show there was a sensation, all right, but that some of those who helped produce it now wish they hadn't. Under the title "The War We Do Not Want," the magazine devoted an entire issue to predicting a war with Russia starting next May, fought with atomic weapons and merciless fury for eight years, then ending in the total defeat of the Soviet Union, the collapse of communism, the establishment of a free democracy in Russia in which Russian women would achieve their long-desired satisfaction of dressing in the latest Paris fashions and the Russian masses would find themselves in a paradise where newsstands were loaded with *Collier's*, the *Saturday Evening Post, Time, Life, Newsweek* and the *Reader's Digest*. The blessed new world which somehow eluded mankind after World War I and World War II would come after World War III. To give this picture of one more world war ending in general felicity and rejoicing, *Collier's* enlisted such writers as Robert E. Sherwood, Ed-

ward R. Murrow, J. B. Priestley, Hanson W. Baldwin, Erwin Canham, Walter Reuther, Stuart Chase, Senator Margaret Chase Smith and Walter Winchell. If this Third World War issue of *Collier's* was planned to frighten Russia it evidently failed. Instead, Kremlin propaganda is using it as proof of the warlike intentions of the United States. If it was meant to assure Americans that they will win a war with the Communist nations it also failed. Americans shrugged it off as just another journalistic stunt. The one thing it actually succeeded in doing was to scare the daylights out of America's allies. Ever since the *Collier's* article appeared, papers all over western Europe have been asking, "Are we tied to a war-mad power which has no conception of what this war would do to us?" An illustration of American popular journalism at its most sensational—and irresponsible—has boomeranged to hurt us most where we most need friends. It has convinced even anticommunists that our minds are obsessed with war.

Mr. Churchill Utters Words of Warning

WHILE the truce talks in Korea appear to move steadily toward an armistice, warnings from Europe indicate that American policy there is steadily getting into deeper difficulties. America's policy is based on the premise that the Russian military threat is growing and that all efforts must be concentrated on building military defenses against it. This premise has led to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and this in turn to the proposal to form a united European army. But there is little belief in Europe that the Russian military threat is growing. There is not much enthusiasm for NATO. And there is no readiness to form a European army. On the contrary, there is mounting resentment against the United States for forcing the pace of rearmament, and apprehension lest the military programs for which this country is held responsible turn out to be the economic ruin of our European allies. Winston Churchill put this in almost these words during a debate in Parliament on December 6. Russia, he said, is not as great a threat now as it was three years ago. But the American bombing bases in England worry him. He will not approve the idea of a single NATO naval commander (the American Admiral Fechteler had been nominated) in the Atlantic. No British troops will join a European army. And, most of all, Britain cannot meet the three-year rearmament schedule set up by Mr. Attlee and Washington. In making that last statement Mr. Churchill was forced to admit, ruefully, that Aneurin Bevan had been right, "by accident, perhaps," in his criticism of the rearmament program while a member of the Labor cabinet. When Mr. Churchill's speech is added to the recent warnings from France that the rearmament program there is financially impossible, and the notices from Belgium and Holland that they are not ready to enter a European army, it should be plain how close U.S. policy in Europe is to collapse. Some may dismiss all these developments as simply preliminary to larger askings from this country. We don't believe it. We believe they show that the western European peoples, including the British, have become convinced that the U.S. is willing to ruin them in order to secure the level of military armament in Europe which the Pentagon says is necessary for *our* security. And that's a dangerous state of mind.

State Board Favors Prayer In New York Schools

THE BOARD OF REGENTS of the schools of New York state has proposed that every school day begin with an unsectarian prayer as a means of impressing on pupils the belief "that Almighty God is their Creator, and that by him they have been endowed with their inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The suggested prayer reads: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon thee, and we beg thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country." This, the board recommends, could "be joined at the commencement of each school day" with "the act of allegiance to the flag." So far the suggestion has met with approval except from a few who fear the effect from any recognition of theistic beliefs within the framework of public education. But the New York school authorities carefully guarded their proposal against infringement of the church-and-state separation principle. It was simply a suggestion to local school boards, and it concerned possible action wholly within the schools and wholly by the schools; the churches would have no connection with it. We are not sure what the long-range effect of such a daily prayer would be. What has been the effect of the daily pledge to the flag, with its affirmation that this is a nation "with liberty and justice for all"? Yet the proposal of the New York regents came in a noble declaration of the dependence of the American people and their nation on God, and it is conceivable that, if heeded, it might somewhat lessen the influence of that "sensate culture," as Sorokin calls it, in which we too much live and move and have our being.

'Reader's Digest' to Prepare Sermons?

TIME, the weekly news magazine, finally got around to doing a cover-story on Mr. and Mrs. DeWitt Wallace and their *Reader's Digest*. *Time* did a good job—an exceedingly good job. It gave a clear picture of the enormous amounts of money the *Digest* makes (from $25 to $30 million gross, $1.5 million net, a year); the staggering salaries and bonuses it pays its multitudinous editors; its 15,500,000 world circulation. It noted the number on the staff who have been ministers or missionaries or are parsonage-bred. It made a shrewd appraisal of the magazine's influence on the mind and manners of contemporary times. But one thing *Time* missed was the *Digest's* possible entrance into the field of theological preparation. Doctors have long bandied jokes about the medically credulous who are "graduates of the Reader's Digest Medical School." (The *Digest* offers a new miracle cure in nearly every issue.) Now, it appears, the magazine contemplates putting its stamp more deeply on the country by offering to write the parsons' sermons. A form letter to ministers, signed by DeWitt Wallace, opens new vistas in this fashion: "For years clergymen have urged the *Reader's Digest* to provide them with sermon notes based on articles in each issue of the magazine. Do you believe that there would be enough

demand for these notes to justify the considerable effort and expense involved in preparing and distributing them without profit? If we did prepare sermon notes, how elaborate do you think they should be? Should we make a small charge for these sermon notes to cover our costs?" Some of our readers think we should work up a fit of editorial indignation over Mr. Wallace's letter. We're not so sure. Maybe the *Reader's Digest* sermons would be an improvement—at least over much of the current output. The jokes almost certainly would be better than most of those now heard from the pulpit.

Waldensian Moderator Visits America

WE WISH that the visit to the United States of the Rev. Achille Deodato, moderator of the Waldensian Church in Italy, were simply for relaxation and fraternal association. It would be fine if this visitor from the world's oldest Protestant group could go up and down our country meeting our leaders and sharing with them the experiences and courageous spirit of his church. Unfortunately that will not be possible on this trip, for the moderator has come on an emergency mission. Two years ago the Waldensian church in Milan was razed by the Italian government to make room for a new highway. We do not here question the necessity for this. We do condemn the fact that the Italian government has seen fit to pay only one-fourth of the amount necessary to rebuild the edifice. From somewhere the Protestants of Milan must find $80,000 if they are to have an adequate house of worship. That is what brings Mr. Deodato here from his headquarters in lovely Torre Pellice, the central offices of his denomination. His modest request is for the money necessary to complete the Milan church, the walls and roof of which have already been put up. Protestant Americans should not, however, stop with meeting this small asking. Every year millions of American dollars make their way to Italy to assist the dominant religious group in that land, the group controlling the government which will pay only one-fourth the cost of rebuilding the church it ordered razed. Few American dollars ever get to the Italian Protestants, one of the most significant and certainly one of the bravest churches in Protestant history. Mr. Deodato is scheduled to make his appeal in Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and a few other large cities. We hope that those communities will be generous in their response. We also hope that the news of his mission will get abroad and that hundreds who will not be able to hear him personally will add their gifts to help the returning moderator accomplish far more than simply rebuilding one church.

Thank God for One Awakened Layman!

A LAYMAN has publicly challenged the churches of his state to test public sentiment on the issue of racial discrimination. William Leimdorfer of Bridgeville, Delaware, paid for a quarter-page ad in the Wilmington *News-Journal,* which has readers all over the state. In it he proposed a "religious-political plan for polling all white voters in the state to test whether or not it is the will of the majority that the Negro be free of all segregation and discrimination in our midst." He suggested that churches form teams of workers to conduct a survey to determine reaction to three measures aimed at eliminating segregation which were before the last session of the state legislature. "The Negro's chances of achieving complete freedom in Delaware through the power of his vote are negligible," Mr. Leimdorfer said in his ad. "Out of this fact arises the opportunity of the Christian in Delaware because he feels that the way the Negro is compelled to live among us at present is not in accord with God's wishes for us." He attested his belief that "most whites would feel we had all to gain and nothing to lose in taking action in this cause." The Wilmington council of churches and the city's ministerial association reserved comment "pending a closer study of the proposal." We hope they will push their study immediately. Such a proposal will lose its thrust if too much time is allowed to elapse. Like the Wilmington ministers, we are not entirely sure what could be accomplished by carrying out Mr. Leimdorfer's survey. But we do know what will be the result if the idea, which has stirred up considerable interest and some controversy in Wilmington, is pigeonholed. Inaction will be seized on by those who call the church the last defense of the *status quo* as evidence that the church had rather preserve its respectability than venture to turn Delaware upside down. We don't know a thing about Mr. Leimdorfer. But thank God for one awakened layman with an imaginative mind!

Russian Orthodox in America Would Join World Council

LATEST applicant for membership in the World Council of Churches is the Russian Orthodox Church of North America, headed by Archbishop Leonty. This body has about 300 churches with 300,000 adherents. It acknowledges the spiritual precedence of the Patriarch of Moscow, but refuses to give him any authority over the ordering of the affairs of its churches. If admitted, as it will be, this will increase slightly the much desired representation of Orthodoxy in the World Council. . . . President Franklin C. Fry of the United Lutheran Church has come out against inclusion of clergymen in the benefits of the federal Social Security law. It might endanger the principle of separation of church and state, he fears. . . . Judge Shannon B. Charlton of Waterloo, Iowa, set aside a will which left a $75,000 trust fund to "persons who believe in the fundamental principles of the Christian religion . . . and are endeavoring to promulgate the same." The judge said Christians can't agree on who fits that description. More importantly, he said that for the court to settle that question would "require excursion into a metaphysical field that is, and should be, out of bounds for the courts of an organized society of human beings founded upon the principle of separation of church and state." Here's something the New York appellate court which is to pass on the Steinbrink decision in the Congregational-E. & R. case might have called to its attention. . . . As forecast last week, Archbishop Stepinac has been released from prison in Yugoslavia and has returned to his boyhood village. Much mystery surrounds the terms on which the archbishop was released; it will take the passage of time to

reveal whether he is to resume his post as Roman Catholic primate or stay in seclusion. . . . The Bureau of Internal Revenue announces that it will collect federal taxes from the income of all business enterprises owned by churches, educational institutions and other tax-exempt bodies.

National Council Hesitations

THE ATLANTA MEETING of the General Board of the National Council of Churches showed that body in operation. A year had passed since the National Council was formed at Cleveland. During that year the shaking-down process, inescapable within an organization created by merging a large number of antecedent organizations, had gone steadily ahead. By the time of the Atlanta meeting the main lines of National Council procedure had become clear, and the men and women on its staff had pretty well found their places in its operations. Atlanta was therefore a sort of reviewing stand—a point at which American Protestantism could answer, at least tentatively, the two decisive questions which could not be answered at Cleveland: How much leadership would the National Council give the American churches? And what kind of leadership?

As it turned out, the President of the United States helped the National Council to meet this test. His nomination of an ambassador to the Vatican, made just a month before the Atlanta meeting and in defiance of what Protestant leaders had believed to be his honorable assurances, thrust the National Council into a public role it might have avoided, under other circumstances, until it was more firmly on its feet. But this unexpected and inescapable challenge gave the National Council an opportunity to prove at once to all its constituents its importance and its capacities. After the thirty days of violent agitation precipitated by the Vatican nomination, Protestantism all over the United States was certain to follow the Atlanta meeting with intense interest. Would it prove that the National Council will give the leadership these times demand? As we read the reports of the Atlanta sessions—that of our own correspondent is on page 1490—the answer seems fairly, but not completely, reassuring.

I

Five issues provided a sort of rough measuring stick of National Council leadership at Atlanta. These were the Vatican embassy, the selection of National Council headquarters, the position of the churches on Universal Military Training, the relation of Protestantism to the weekday religious education issue raised in New York, and its position on the race question, particularly as that had just been dramatized by the shooting of Negro prisoners in near-by Florida.

Consider these tests which the National Council faced at Atlanta in the reverse order from that in which they have been named. In the case of the Florida shootings the council spoke with the voice of Christian insistence on racial justice. The letters which Bishop Sherrill, the council's president, wrote at the direction of the General Board to Attorney General McGrath and Governor Fuller Warren of Florida left nothing to be desired in forthrightness and conviction. These public officials were put on notice that American Protestant churches are holding them responsible to see that there are full federal and state investigations of the act of the Florida sheriff in shooting his manacled Negro prisoners. The fact that the council took this step while meeting in Atlanta added to its weight.

The decision to intervene in the New York weekday religious education case was also, we believe, a demonstration of informed and positive leadership. This case, which is soon to come before the Supreme Court, involves a very different set of circumstances from those on which the McCollum case was decided. The New York law provides for the dismissal of children from school, on parental request, for many reasons, including religious observances and instruction. Thus, children are dismissed for celebration of Jewish religious holidays. The instruction in dispute is not given as part of the school curriculum or under the auspices of the school system; it is given in "free time"—that is, when the pupil has been dismissed from school and is as free as though he had, on his parent's request, been let go to attend his grandmother's funeral at Yankee Stadium. New York law, as stated, provides for this. The appellate courts of that state have held that no infraction of the separation of church and state principle in the First Amendment is involved. The National Council acted wisely in deciding to intervene to support that ruling before the Supreme Court.

On Universal Military Training the Atlanta session of the General Board was silent. National Council officers knew of the report of the UMT commission, commented on extensively elsewhere in this issue. They knew the terms of the law proposed by the UMT commission to fix this system of peacetime conscription permanently on this country. They knew that most of the constituent denominations of the National Council, and numerous other church bodies, have gone on record against UMT. They knew that the chairman of the House armed services committee has announced that legislative action on UMT will start and be concluded before the General Board convenes again. Yet the council passed over this important issue of public policy in silence. If American Protestantism is to make its influence felt against peacetime conscription at the approaching session of Congress, it will have to do so through the denominations, through congregations and through concerned individual Protestants. On this issue, there was a failure of council leadership at Atlanta.

II

When Atlanta turned to consideration of the N.C.C. headquarters issue the impression left was not too bad. And it wasn't too good. As the report in our news columns last week showed, and as the daily press corroborated, the advisory committee through which the council is working at this stage is following much the course any large organization with national interests might be expected to follow in deciding a matter of this sort. Various criteria have been set up; there has been a preliminary sifting which—largely on the race issue—has disposed of certain cities; there are to be other studies and other appearances of delegations before the advisory committee.

On the surface, this looks like the way to secure an ob-

jective, wise decision. Yet in the light of reports from Atlanta there seems a distinct possibility that the council's committee may be asking all the questions except the ones that count. It is prudent to examine rents and transportation and the available supply of stenographers and so on. But those are not the matters which have made the churches in the National Council so concerned with regard to the location of its headquarters. A decision reached on the basis of these subsidiary issues will leave the churches which have really become stirred up over this feeling that the consideration which to them seems vital has been ignored.

That consideration is that the headquarters for united Protestantism shall be located where Protestantism is at home, where the environment is Protestant, where Protestant leadership will flourish naturally and grow easily; a center to which the Protestant churches of the entire nation can look and turn without any sense of invading an alien or repellent community. In short, a psychological center of American Protestantism. There is something far deeper involved here, something that will operate longer and have a more profound effect on the ultimate influence of the National Council, than any question as to how many stenographers can be hired and for how much. We hold to our belief that, before a decision is reached, these vital psychological factors will be given the preponderant weight they deserve. But the reports from Atlanta bred doubt.

III

This brings us to the Vatican issue. Here again, the National Council's leadership so far has been good, and the Atlanta meeting was, on the surface, what the nation's Protestantism was hoping to see. Most of the things said at Atlanta, both in the General Board meetings and in the public rallies, were what should have been said. The committee appointed by Bishop Sherrill to conduct the council's campaign against confirmation of the Clark appointment is a grand committee. When you have Dr. Fry, Bishop Oxnam, Dr. Blake, Dr. Nelson, Dr. Horton and Dr. Lacey on one committee you have just about as much Protestant leadership as can be concentrated in six men. Nevertheless, there were certain things about the Atlanta meeting and one development within the National Council in the few days since then which will make many Protestants wonder how positive National Council action on this Vatican challenge is going to be.

Up to Atlanta, the National Council had given every evidence of rising to this emergency. Despite its cumbersome machinery, which frequently seems contrived to prevent or delay action, it had moved swiftly after the President threw down the gage of battle on October 30. Its official statement, adopted on October 31 and backed by its "Brief" of last January 17, had compelled the attention of the nation. At Atlanta, however, along with the announcement of the personnel of the special Vatican committee, there seemed to be an attempt to suggest that from now on the National Council would pursue its opposition to the Clark nomination in quiet, unobtrusive ways which would indicate its desire to avoid public controversy.

We may be unjust to the council in reading this into what we have heard about what went on at Atlanta. But concerning the development which has come since then, no doubt seems possible. On December 1, the morning after the Atlanta sessions adjourned, the daily papers gave prominence to a report that the *Information Service* of the council had issued a report on the Vatican question in which Protestants were urged to oppose the Clark nomination only as a matter of mistaken public policy and to forget all about any constitutional issue under the First Amendment as a breach of the principle of separation of church and state. We have not yet seen the issue of the *Information Service* in which this appears. Apparently its contents were released to the daily press by council officers in advance of its general distribution. They must have known that the press would regard such views, coming from such quarters, as sensational news.

This is not the time or place to take up again the reasons why appointment of an ambassador by the U.S. government to the Vatican would be a breach of the historic American principle of separation of church and state as embodied in the First Amendment, recently defined by the Supreme Court in the Everson and McCollum cases. *Christianity and Crisis,* which reflects the views of a group in New York with much influence in National Council circles, has referred to our study of this question in our November 7 issue as "the frenzy of The Christian Century," and commended the "restraint" of the council. Perhaps this advice from the National Council's research department to let the constitutional issue of separation of church and state go by the boards and discuss the Vatican embassy in terms of political expediency is an example of such restraint. But we don't think so. We think that to follow such advice would be to throw away the American Protestant position.

If the daily press has not misrepresented the position taken in the National Council's *Information Service*—we are commenting on the basis of the extended report in the *New York Times* for December 1—what it amounts to is advice to Protestants to oppose the Clark nomination simply on the ground that Mr. Truman has shown bad political judgment, and not because he has tried to do something illegal, unconstitutional, forbidden. It rests on the premise that the only thing forbidden by the First Amendment is "preferential treatment" of a church, and it is only for this that Mr. Truman's act should be opposed —not for any other breach of the principle of church-and-state separation. (This, as it happens, is also the interpretation of the First Amendment held by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in its November 20, 1948, statement and by Professor James M. O'Neill in his book, *Religion and Education under the Constitution,* championing the Catholic position.) The National Council document even warns Protestant churches that if their view of the separation principle in the First Amendment were to be sustained, some of their tax exemptions might be endangered and they might find themselves having to support their own chaplains. This is not a very high level on which to decide an issue of such importance. We fear it betrays a lurking belief that the issue is not of much importance! For American Protestantism to make its fight against the Vatican nomination on the narrow ground this National Council agency advises would be to let go by default exceedingly important territory which, in coming struggles over the

separation issue, foreshadowed by American Catholicism's increasing aggressiveness, will be of vital importance.

We appreciate the difficulties under which the National Council labors as it tries to establish its leadership of American Protestantism. It works in an environment on the eastern seaboard which is fearful lest it become involved in anything that smacks of Protestant "frenzy." There are denominations in its membership whose national sources have no such tradition on the church-and-state issue as the Vatican nomination has challenged. There is the normal, indeed the rightful, tendency to go slow, to err if at all on the side of caution, during this formulative period of a new organization.

But events can be determinative. And events are occurring which, so far as the future of the National Council is concerned, have taken charge of the situation. Right now, not in some leisurely, humdrum future, is the time when the council must prove to America's Protestant churches whether they can count on it for real leadership. The proof must come now because all the churches—in fact, the whole nation—are watching now. We believe that the National Council will prove that its leadership is the real thing.

Sleight of Hand

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: My heart gave quite a high bound the other day when I read a news item from Atlanta, Ga. It brought the information that the Rev. J. J. Sneed, pastor of the Methodist Church of Hapeville, Ga., had been elected secretary of the Atlanta Society of Magicians. I can think of nothing more fitting than this. For we hold this truth to be self-evident, that if anyone needs to be a magician it is the preacher. And, through the years, his feats of legerdemain have been prodigious. It used to be a common trick of magicians to make a silver dollar disappear. Now, alas, anyone can do that. Anyone can step out to buy a little snack for lunch and bang! *ten* dollars have vanished into the air and you come home with what used to be meat for the dog. The preacher has to do this trick in reverse—make a dollar, or a hundred of them, appear out of very thin air.

Of course, it is the preacher's wife who ought to be president of the International Society of Magicians. She does tricks every day that make the Old Masters of another generation—Herman the Great, Keller *et al.*—look like awkward bunglers. She does sleights of hand like whipping up a fine omelet for six out of one doubtful egg; putting four children through college on from $1,500 to $2,000 a year (names and addresses furnished to any skeptics on request); finagling nonaggression treaties with six foreign powers, including the Trustees, the Ladies' Aid Society and the grocer; furnishing a ten-room parsonage with the equipment of a two-room flat; and sweeping into the morning service looking better than the Queen of Sheba. Lady, take a bow!

My hat would be off to the reverend magician, Mr. Sneed, if I were not afraid he would make it disappear, and it is my only hat. The preacher must have many tricks in his repertoire. Some are elementary, such as making money grow on trees, getting blood out of a turnip (the turnip in this case being Old Man Closely, president of the Skinflint Manufacturing Co.), keeping 300 stout individualists and seven competing organizations revolving around a common center without hitting each other (a neater trick than keeping the solar system going without cosmic collisions). Those are among the easy ones, to be learned in the first two lessons.

Beyond that, the preacher engages in real magic. What that is is pictured in the tribute paid to Arnold Bennett by Rebecca West: "He is a prestidigitator with the ordinary, the medium, the mediocre things of life: the trains, the suburbs, the small houses, the people who live in them. That is the secret of his greatness, which is otherwise hard to explain. He has not let custom blunt his vision of the astounding wonder of life." Let that phrase etch itself into your mind, "prestidigitator with the ordinary." It is a great role to play—to fill the ordinary life of people with astounding wonder. It is true magic to open the windows of the mind, and of a church auditorium, so that people can see the whole world; to conjure a small house into a large room for the mind and spirit; to stand in a church, very often uninspiring to the aesthetic sense, quite ordinary, and to induce in scores of people the mood, "Surely God is in this place. This is none other than the gate of heaven."

That is real magic. And it is done right along.

Yours,

SIMEON STYLITES.

Christmas Eve 1951

IN our thin moment under dark wheeling skies
We have become too diligent in knowing.
Two billion Wise Men of the East and West,
Articulate and dumb, sinners and blest,
Blink at the diamond facets coldly glowing,
The ancient innocence gone from our eyes.

We count the galaxies, yet see no Star
Gilding a path across the land and deep;
The light we dread, splitting the firmament,
Fissioning over pastures sere and rent,
Scatters the witless shepherds after the sheep,
The world a red and roaring meteor.

Frankincense, myrrh and hyssop down the years
Are gossamer scents from a dim remembered yearning,
Lost in the odors of man's metallic hour.
We have discovered the heady perfume of power.
No manger mothered this prideful later learning;
The Child's cry rises strangely to our ears.

Or have we belittled our strength? Have we forgot
The brooklet cutting crevasses with its spilling?
The slender root prying hard stone? The saint
With brave reveille rousing the dull and faint?
Have we denied our old contempt for killing?
The priceless conquests love and peace have wrought?
The inner burning Star
Drawing us higher than we are?

DEVERE ALLEN.

'As the Truth is in Jesus' (Ephes. 4:21)

Final article in the series on 'What Shall I Preach to a Fear-Stricken Age?'

By George Florovsky

CHRISTIAN MINISTERS are not supposed to preach their private opinions, at least from the pulpit. Ministers are commissioned and ordained in the church precisely to preach the Word of God. They are given some fixed terms of reference—namely, the gospel of Jesus Christ—and they are committed to this sole and perennial message. They are expected to propagate and to sustain "the faith which was once delivered unto the saints." Of course, the Word of God must be preached "efficiently." That is, it should always be so presented as to carry conviction and command the allegiance of every new generation and every particular group. It may be restated in new categories, if the circumstances require. But, above all, the identity of the message must be preserved.

One has to be sure that one is preaching the same gospel that was delivered and that one is not introducing instead any "strange gospel" of his own. The Word of God cannot be easily adjusted or accommodated to the fleeting customs and attitudes of any particular age, including our own time. Unfortunately, we are often inclined to measure the Word of God by our own stature, instead of checking our mind by the stature of Christ. The "modern mind" also stands under the judgment of the Word of God.

The Lost Scriptural Mind

But it is precisely at this point that our major difficulty begins. Most of us have lost the integrity of the scriptural mind, even if some bits of biblical phraseology are retained. The modern man often complains that the truth of God is offered to him in an "archaic idiom"—i.e., in the language of the Bible—which is no more his own and cannot be used spontaneously. It has recently been suggested that we should radically "demythologize" Scripture, meaning to replace the antiquated categories of the Holy Writ by something more modern. Yet the question cannot be evaded: Is the language of Scripture really nothing else than an accidental and external wrapping out of which some "eternal idea" is to be extricated and disentangled, or is it rather a perennial vehicle of the divine message, which was once delivered for all time?

We are in danger of losing the uniqueness of the Word of God in the process of continuous "reinterpretation." But how can we interpret at all if we have forgotten the original language? Would it not be safer to bend our thought to the mental habits of the biblical language and to relearn the idiom of the Bible? No man can receive the gospel unless he repents—"changes his mind." For in the language of the gospel "repentance" *(metanoeite)* does not mean merely acknowledgment of and contrition for sins, but precisely a "change of mind"—a profound change of man's mental and emotional attitude, an integral renewal of man's self, which begins in his self-renunciation and is accomplished and sealed by the Spirit.

We are living now in an age of intellectual chaos and disintegration. Possibly modern man has not yet made up his mind, and the variety of opinions is beyond any hope of reconciliation. Probably the only luminous signpost we have to guide us through the mental fog of our desperate age is just the "faith which was once delivered unto the saints," obsolete or archaic as the idiom of the early church may seem to be, judged by our fleeting standards.

Preach the Creeds!

What, then, are we going to preach? What would I preach to my contemporaries "in a time such as this"? There is no room for hesitation: I am going to preach Jesus, and him crucified and risen. I am going to preach and to commend to all whom I may be called to address the message of salvation, as it has been handed down to me by an uninterrupted tradition of the Church Universal. I would not isolate myself in my own age. In other words, I am going to preach the "doctrines of the creed."

I am fully aware that creeds are a stumbling block for many in our own generation. "The creeds are venerable symbols, like the tattered flags upon the walls of national churches; but for the present warfare of the church in Asia, in Africa, in Europe and America the creeds, when they are understood, are about as serviceable as a battle-ax or an arquebus in the hands of a modern soldier." This was written some twenty years ago by a prominent British scholar who is a devout minister too. Possibly he would not write them today. But there are still many who would wholeheartedly make this vigorous statement their own. Let us remember, however, that the early creeds were deliberately scriptural, and it is precisely their scriptural phraseology that makes them difficult for the modern man.

Thus we face the same problem again: What can we offer instead of Holy Writ? I would prefer the language of the Tradition, not because of a lazy and credulous "conservatism" or a blind "obedience" to some external "authorities," but simply because I cannot find any better phraseology. I am prepared to expose myself to the inevitable charge of being "antiquarian" and "fundamentalist." And I would protest that such a charge is gratuitous and wrong. I do keep and hold the "doctrines of the creed," conscientiously and wholeheartedly, because I apprehend by faith their perennial adequacy and relevance to all ages and to all situations, including "a time such as this." And I believe it is precisely the "doctrines of the creed" that can enable a desperate generation like ours to regain Christian courage and vision.

The Tradition Lives

"The church is neither a museum of dead deposits nor a society of research." The deposits are alive—*depositum juvenescens,* to use the phrase of St. Irenaeus. The creed is not a relic of the past, but rather the "sword of the Spirit." The reconversion of the world to Christianity is what we have to preach in our day. This is the only way

out of that impasse into which the world has been driven by the failure of Christians to be truly Christian. Obviously, Christian doctrine does not answer *directly* any practical question in the field of politics or economics. Neither does the gospel of Christ. Yet its impact on the whole course of human history has been enormous. The recognition of human dignity, mercy and justice roots in the gospel. The new world can be built only by a new man.

What Chalcedon Meant

"And was made man." What is the ultimate connotation of this creedal statement? Or, in other words, *who* was Jesus, the Christ and the Lord? What does it mean, in the language of the Council of Chalcedon, that the same Jesus was "perfect man" and "perfect God," yet a single and unique personality? "Modern man" is usually very critical of that definition of Chalcedon. It fails to convey any meaning to him. The "imagery" of the creed is for him nothing more than a piece of poetry, if anything at all. The whole approach, I think, is wrong. The "definition" of Chalcedon is not a metaphysical statement, and was never meant to be treated as such. Nor was the mystery of the Incarnation just a "metaphysical miracle." The formula of Chalcedon was a statement of faith, and therefore cannot be understood when taken out of the total experience of the church. In fact, it is an "existential statement."

Chalcedon's formula is, as it were, an intellectual contour of the mystery which is apprehended by faith. Our Redeemer is *not* a man, but God *himself*. Here lies the existential emphasis of the statement. Our Redeemer is one who "came down" and who, by "being made man," identified himself with men in the fellowship of a truly human life and nature. Not only the initiative was divine, but the Captain of Salvation was a divine Person. The fullness of the human nature of Christ means simply the adequacy and truth of this redeeming identification. God enters human history and becomes a historical person.

This sounds paradoxical. Indeed there is a mystery: "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness; God was manifested in the flesh." But this mystery was a revelation; the true character of God had been disclosed in the Incarnation. God was so much and so intimately concerned with the destiny of man (and precisely with the destiny of every one of "the little ones") as to intervene *in person* in the chaos and misery of the lost life. The divine providence therefore is not merely an omnipotent ruling of the universe from an august distance by the divine majesty, but a kenosis, a "self-humiliation" of the God of glory. There is a *personal* relationship between God and man.

Tragedy in a New Light

The whole of the human tragedy appears therefore in a new light. The mystery of the Incarnation was a mystery of the love divine, of the divine identification with lost man. And the climax of Incarnation was the cross. It is the turning point of human destiny. But the awful mystery of the cross is comprehensible only in the wider perspective of an integral Christology; that is, only if we believe that the Crucified was in very truth "the Son of the living God." The death of Christ was God's entrance into the misery of human death (again *in person*), a descent into Hades, and this meant the end of death and the inauguration of the life everlasting for man.

There is an amazing coherence in the body of the traditional doctrine. But it can be apprehended and understood only in the living context of faith, by which I mean in a personal communion with the personal God. Faith alone makes formulas convincing; faith alone makes formulas live. "It seems paradoxical, yet it is the experience of all observers of spiritual things: no one profits by the Gospels unless he be first in love with Christ." For Christ is not a text but a living Person, and he abides in his body, the church.

It may seem ridiculous to suggest that one should preach the doctrine of Chalcedon "in a time such as this." Yet it is precisely this doctrine—that reality to which this doctrine bears witness—that can change the whole spiritual outlook of modern man. It brings him a true freedom. Man is not alone in this world, and God is taking personal interest in the events of human history. This is an immediate implication of the integral conception of the Incarnation. It is an illusion that the Christological disputes of the past are irrelevant to the contemporary situation. In fact, they are continued and repeated in the controversies of our own age. Modern man, deliberately or subconsciously, is tempted by the Nestorian extreme. That is to say, he does not take the Incarnation in earnest. He does not dare to believe that Christ is a divine person. He wants to have a *human* redeemer, only assisted by God. He is more interested in the human psychology of the Redeemer than in the mystery of the divine love. Because, in the last resort, he believes optimistically in the dignity of man.

A New Monophysitism

On the other extreme we have in our days a revival of "monophysite" tendencies in theology and religion, when man is reduced to complete passivity and is allowed only to listen and to hope. The present tension between "liberalism" and "neo-orthodoxy" is in fact a re-enactment of the old Christological struggle, on a new existential level and in a new spiritual key. The conflict will never be settled or solved in the field of theology, unless a wider vision is acquired.

In the early church the preaching was emphatically theological. It was not a vain speculation. The New Testament itself is a theological book. Neglect of theology in the instruction given to laity in modern times is responsible both for the decay of personal religion and for that sense of frustration which dominates the modern mood. What we need in Christendom "in a time such as this" is precisely a sound and existential theology. In fact, both clergy and the laity are hungry for theology. And because no theology is usually preached, they adopt some "strange ideologies" and combine them with the fragments of traditional beliefs. The whole appeal of the "rival gospels" in our days is that they offer some sort of pseudo theology, a system of pseudo dogmas. They are gladly accepted by those who cannot find any theology in the reduced Christianity of "modern" style. That existential alternative which many face in our days has been aptly formulated by an English theologian, "Dogma or . . . death." The age of a-dogmatism and pragmatism has closed. And

therefore the ministers of the church have to preach again doctrines and dogmas—the Word of God.

The first task of the contemporary preacher is the "reconstruction of belief." It is by no means an intellectual endeavor. Belief is just the map of the true world, and should not be mistaken for reality. Modern man has been too much concerned with his own ideas and convictions, his own attitudes and reactions. The modern crisis precipitated by humanism (an undeniable fact) has been brought about by the rediscovery of the real world, in which we do believe. The rediscovery of the church is the most decisive aspect of this new spiritual realism. Reality is no more screened from us by the wall of our own ideas. It is again accessible. It is again realized that the church is not just a company of believers, but the "Body of Christ." This is a rediscovery of a new dimension, a rediscovery of the continuing presence of the divine Redeemer in the midst of his faithful flock. This discovery throws a new flood of light on the misery of our disintegrated existence in a world thoroughly secularized. It is already recognized by many that the true solution of all social problems lies somehow in the reconstruction of the church. "In a time such as this" one has to preach the "whole Christ," Christ and the church—*totus Christus, caput et corpus,* to use the famous phrase of St. Augustine. Possibly this preaching is still unusual, but it seems to be the only way to preach the Word of God efficiently in a period of doom and despair like ours.

I have often a strange feeling. When I read the ancient classics of Christian theology, the fathers of the church, I find them more relevant to the troubles and problems of my own time than the production of modern theologians. The fathers were wrestling with existential problems, with those revelations of the eternal issues which were described and recorded in Holy Writ. I would risk a suggestion that St. Athanasius and St. Augustine are much more up to date than many of our theological contemporaries. The reason is very simple: they were dealing with things and not with the maps, they were concerned not so much with what man can believe as with what God had done for man. We have, "in a time such as this," to enlarge our perspective, to acknowledge the masters of old, and to attempt for our own age an existential synthesis of Christian experience.

Miss Ada and Miss Ida and the Atom Bomb

By Jo-Marie Ruddell

IN THE ALMOST THIRTY YEARS that I have known them Miss Ada and Miss Ida have changed scarcely at all, while I have grown out of their Children's Division of the Mount Holly Methodist Church to the unbelievable circumstance of having three children of my own.

Miss Ada looks just as she has looked all my life—almost five feet, stooped over, wizened, with wrinkles cut and dried in a very homely face. But she vibrates all over with joy in being alive. Miss Ada was my nursery teacher in church school. She is, so far as I know, the creator of that questionable, wonderful, nonsensical practice, "poke Sunday"—Sundays scattered surprise-fashion throughout the year when every child went from the nursery with a brown paper poke rattling with candy (mostly hard and sticky, and sucked sometimes in church, but sometimes silver-bell chocolates which melted in hot eager hands). Unencumbered by theology, Miss Ada taught me that "Jesus loves me." That was the cornerstone of the simple structure of her faith, and her eyes shone with the certainty of it in her heart. And Miss Ada laid on my heart a charge I've never forgotten—to "brighten the corner." But above all else she taught me that, despite anything that might happen anywhere, "God is love."

Since those days I've been through most profound years, thinking tremendous and complex thoughts—earth-shaking thoughts. But at this precise moment, I am walking a careful circle of remembrance as I look at my three little girls and wonder wishfully at Miss Ada's power of translating talking into living. Many things in my life have changed, but not Miss Ada's God who is love, nor that simple and uncluttered Jesus who loves me. And Miss Ada's dwarfish face has continued lovingly to remind me of the duty and the privilege and the joyousness of brightening little corners.

I

Miss Ida is very tall and stately. So far as I know she still has the same crimpy-wavy white hair and the same enormous mole on her forehead not quite covered by the waves. Miss Ida has not changed much either. I went to see her last year with two of my babies; I wanted them to see her. Sure enough, her lovely, loving eyes were blue and bright as always. She still moves in a spiritual grace that stops my heart now at the more mature realization of a worth I took so casually for granted.

Miss Ida was my primary teacher in the Mount Holly Methodist Church. She taught me that I must be "a doer of the Word"; that the world couldn't get by with "hearers only." My spirit, surging through the days and nights of a good many years since, is impressed that that was an awful truth she taught me. Miss Ida taught me that the Kingdom of God is (not "was," mind you, or "might be," but *is*) the potential and capacity of my own mind and heart. And what is equally demanding, she taught me that all men—and she did mean "all"—were my brothers—and she did mean "brothers." She taught me that I, without regard to my young age or to my small place in the

world, was my brothers' friend and helper. It was not much to ask then when my child-heart was full and warm. That I am lazy and flinch a little now does not alter the truth or ease the pricks of remembrance. I wonder if we can ever appreciate enough the Sunday school teachers of old or the church school kind.

Miss Ida taught me without eschatological concern—a song without too many words. She taught me that, given a complex situation (something like wickedness, or even sin), an understanding mind and a forgiving heart, as in God, were redeeming, as in Jesus. That was the way Miss Ida taught me about salvation. I have passed over the hump of days when words like "sin" and "wickedness" and "salvation" brought spine-squiggly repugnance. Miss Ida taught me about salvation. Now this was not as in the "mercy seat" (though we were all given the chance to squirm in that ever so often). In addition to the theological implications of those revival meetings, Miss Ida taught me something else. She taught me that there was a way of living in the world which could "save it." When the best I could think and the best I could do walked the green pastures, Jesus would restore and comfort, she said; and when I failed or when the pasture paths were rough or not plainly marked, his love "salvationed" me. Even then I could understand that.

Miss Ida taught me that I could be like a tree planted by the rivers of waters—not bent or stunted by changing circumstances; but both day and night the essential me could be like a strong and shade-giving tree. And anyhow the Lord (he didn't ask much in those days) only required me to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly; as Miss Ida said, I should love the Lord and love my neighbor. If I did that, she said, I wouldn't be winnowed chaff left useless on the threshing floor of the world, but I would be like that tree—a tree planted by God to grow by the rivers of his world.

II

I looked today at our children's faces reflected in the swiftly flowing water of that river. My baby laughed out loud for the first time yesterday. Perhaps it was her pure chuckle that actually prompted this writing. We have these three children to guide—and A is no longer for apple nor B for ball nor C for cat; the A-B-C's of 1951 are Atom and Bomb and Crisis. Fears and hatreds and stupid social selfishness pollute the rivers of waters and parasites suck life from the trees. There is prejudice. There is the economic blindness which is plain old greed, Midas-bound. There is lack of faith. There are mutters and mumbles and fear-filled shrieks. There is not so much the hopeful singing about sins which were scarlet made whiter than snow; nor, what is most chilling, is there much sense of the sinning. Red flows on the white Korean snow, and my baby laughed her first full joyful laugh yesterday.

Another familiar part of the teachings of Miss Ida was the three dimensions of a man's living, where he stands in relation to God and to other men. I have been thinking of the fourth dimension—the level of his own self at which he chooses to live. Fourth-dimensionally, thousands of people seem propelled into living at a fearsomely hysterical level. Voices loud and blustery, betraying themselves as both shaken and shaking, clamor for getting somebody or something or somewhere first with atomic weapons or with rifles, but only a voice or two in the wilderness suggests getting the jump on somebody somewhere with love. I think we all feel worse about saturating areas with atom bombs than we do about the use of block-busters or flame throwers, but the spiritual climate is the same.

I have been talking recently to a young minister who reminds me that I am not "in tune with my times." I'm sure I find no pleasure in being out of step for its own sake at any time, and God forbid that I should become "other-worldly." The fact remains that I am not changed in my living now that there are atom bombs. My God is still love. And his commandments I know. I am not as unique as I once was, when I was a profound, pushing, pulling radical-liberal, glib of tongue and slick of shout. I am like mothers by the million who would nurture trees planted by the rivers of waters.

III

Atom bombs scare me, too, in a surface way, and in a more subtle way I am frightened by their eager users. But the atom bomb does not surprise me; it seems a naturally developed threat when fourth-dimensional living is at the level of fear and hysteria. Can we find a new view of the old dimension where man, knowing God, sought to face other men with faith and hope and love and sought to give, and be the first to give, to forgive, and to forgive seventy-odd times?

I've probably been too busy having babies to keep up of late, but I gather on every hand that this is a "complex world." (It's downright complicated as well!) Should we wonder at the complications? Justice wears cloaks and shrouds and love wears veils; mercy is all mixed up with who is going to get it and for what return; humility is for the lesser ilk. Nothing in all the world is simple, "they" say. There is no single answer and anybody who is anybody at all (planted by the rivers of waters) knows that all absolutes are absolutely gray. If I oversimplify, do "they" overcomplicate?

We have three children ready for the Children's Division of the Christian church. I am beginning to wonder. And I am beginning to wonder a lot. Whatever elements are let loose in the world, fissionable or otherwise; whatever totalitarian spirit—total state or total war or total self—seeps into any place or person; whatever plunge for power leads down whatever complex pasture path, are we not as trees planted by the river? The "doers" of my yester-world had first to "hear" the Word, and then to do. However complex each day's choices, at what dimensional level do we choose to live? Jesus lived as though God were love. Miss Ada said so; and she lived as if she believed it. I too believe.

The Barn

ACROSS the frozen field of yesterday,
Past stubble, rut and icy drift,
The barn stands filled with memory's gold hay
For winter use—God's warmest gift.

MARGARET EVELYN SINGLETON.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

Do the people of the United States want the coming session of Congress to enact into law the system of permanent peacetime conscription proposed by the UMT National Security Training Commission?

Avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty.

George Washington

He Was For It!

We stand for compulsory military service for every man. If a state is not worth that, then away with it!

ADOLF HITLER,
(in *Mein Kampf*).

And These Against—

I am absolutely and unequivocally opposed to the fastening upon this country of any system of universal military training as a peacetime measure.

DANIEL L. MARSH,
Chancellor, Boston University.

The report of the President's commission on UMT which now goes to Congress proposes to commit our country in a moment of hysteria to a permanent policy of military domination of the education of our young men. This is contrary to the basic principles upon which our nation was founded and under which it has grown to power. Such a policy would not add to our security, but would leave us progressively weaker because it would undermine the virtues which have made us great. It should be opposed by every thoughtful and well informed citizen.

JOY ELMER MORGAN,
Editor of the *Journal*,
National Education Association.

Does anybody seriously think that the army is the best place for the physical, religious and moral training of Catholic or other American youth? That is a strange doctrine for America. It is a new idea for America—but it is not a new idea in the world. This idea was tried in Italy. Mussolini said that universal military training would give the youth of Italy the stamp of nobility. I ask if our young people should envy the fate of Italian youth? Hitler said that compulsory military training would give each man a ground for pride in his citizenship. I ask you what grounds for pride are left to the cheated youth of Germany.

ARCHBISHOP RICHARD J. CUSHING.

In contemplating the report on UMT, we view with grave concern the recommendations that UMT be implemented . . . creates a concentration of military power . . . threatens the democratic structure of our nation . . . not in accord with American tradition . . . recommend to the Congress and the President rejection of the submitted plan.

INDIANA CONFERENCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION,
FR. J. J. CAVANAUGH (Notre Dame), Pres.,
DEAN WENDELL WRIGHT (I. U.) Sec'y.

We are vigorously opposed to a system of UMT. . . . ineffective and inefficient use of manpower . . . violation of our American democratic heritage . . . can see no purpose in changing from a traditional American system to one which is foreign to the American way. . . . The future welfare of our great nation and the strength of our democratic way of life is dependent upon our young people with convictions nurtured in Christian homes, schools and churches. For this, military training is no substitute.

VIRGINIA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION.

Compulsory military training in peacetime in the U.S.A., if such a change in our American system is brought about, will be a windfall for military officials and a catastrophe to taxpayers. It will be the ruin of our young men.

The late CARDINAL DENIS J. DOUGHERTY
(quoted by Archbishop Cushing).

As an instrument of national policy UMT seems thoroughly antiquated and ill-designed to achieve any of the military or educational objectives it is supposed to achieve. From a military point of view, it is increasingly meaningless in a day of mechanization and specialization. From an educational point of view, I think our homes, churches, schools and colleges are better equipped than the armed forces to help our young men to develop into worthy American citizens.

CHARLES W. COLE,
President, Amherst College.

We do not now have universal military training as a law. It is simply a report to be submitted to the Congress by a commission that has been appointed. I think that universal military training is unnecessary at this time because the draft meets all our requirements. Even if desirable, it could not be effective, as has been stated by Mrs. Rosenberg, by Mr. Baldwin, and by General MacArthur and other well known authorities.

I believe that taking young men of America from the church and school and the home and putting them in a segregated group at the age of 18 where the moral and spiritual surroundings are not conducive to the building of the best character is not what this country wants.

I want to agree with Dr. Hutchins, the former chancellor of the University of Chicago, now with the Ford Foundation, when he said: "It stands to reason that though free and independent citizens make the best army, the army is not the best place to make free and independent citizens."

CONGRESSMAN DEWEY SHORT
(*Congressional Record*, Nov. 14, 1951).

U.M.T.—The Hour of Decision

Will the American People Let Congress Know Where They Stand on This Proposal for Peacetime Conscription?

CONGRESS reassembles on January 8. On that day, Representative Carl Vinson, of Milledgeville, Georgia, says he will introduce a bill to enact Universal Military Training. This bill will be referred to the armed services committee of the House of Representatives. Congressman Vinson is chairman of that committee. He promises to start hearings on the UMT bill immediately—on January 9, according to a statement he has made to the press. His intention clearly is to rush this UMT legislation through his committee as swiftly as possible. As soon as the House armed services committee reports the bill Congressman Vinson is pushing, it becomes what Congress calls "privileged legislation." This means that any member of Congress can call it up for a vote in the House at any time.

I

For those American citizens who are opposed to UMT, and for those who have not yet made up their minds about it, this announcement by Congressman Vinson should be taken as a warning that the hour of decision on this issue of lasting national importance is close at hand. Congressman Vinson has a reputation for rarely failing to get what he wants for the armed forces from Congress. During his 38 years in the House he has learned about all there is to know regarding parliamentary maneuvers which can be employed to push along hotly contested legislation. With Mr. Vinson pushing it, the UMT bill will almost certainly be the first important piece of controversial legislation to come before the next session of Congress. And it will come with adroit and powerful support behind it.

The UMT bill which a special commission has drafted is now available for Americans to study. A few weeks ago the National Security Training Commission appointed by President Truman reported to Congress the plan for UMT on which Congress will now pass. This is embodied in *Universal Military Training: Foundation of Enduring National Strength,* a 124-page book which can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 35 cents in coin. The precise text of the bill which would enact UMT into law is to be found from page 76 to page 87 of that document. It is all there for any American who is sufficiently interested to read, ponder, reach a decision.

Considerable confusion has been spread through the country regarding this report by the UMT commission and the proposed legislation which is in it. It has been claimed that "UMT has already been adopted in principle by Congress; all that remains to be done is to see that the principle is implemented in legislation." Yet the facts are clear and they are altogether otherwise. The fact that this long 124-page document is in reality one continuing argument in favor of UMT is enough to show that Congress has *not* yet adopted it; if it had, there would be no point in arguing the case. What is the actual status of this report by the UMT commission and of the UMT legislation which is about to be placed before Congress?

II

Universal Military Training was up in the previous session of Congress—the one which adjourned early in November. A bill to enact UMT was vigorously pushed. It had behind it not only Congressman Vinson and the armed services committees of the two branches of Congress, but it also had the backing of President Truman, the Pentagon, most of the daily press, the United States Chamber of Commerce (which on December 3 announced that it is going to "restudy" its position), the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and most of the veterans' organizations.

With support of that kind, it looked for a while as though UMT would pass that last session of Congress. But when the American people woke up to what was being put over on them, they quickly showed such immense opposition that UMT soon showed signs of being headed for the legislative graveyard. An unexpected but significant incident hastened this defeat. The House of Representatives got so far ahead of the Senate in handling its legislative business that its members took a long recess. While the Senate was catching up, members of the House went home to look after their private business and political fences. And what they heard while they were at home brought them back to Washington in no mood to vote for UMT!

Probably one thing which most aroused public opposition to UMT at that time was the way in which its backers tried to slip it through Congress. It was made part of Public Law 51, which was the Selective Service Act extending the draft for four years. This draft law was an emergency measure, strictly limited in time to take care of the emergency caused by the outbreak in Korea and the "cold war" tension with the Soviet Union. UMT was tucked into this bill so that it would be enacted as emergency legislation, even though it was not an emergency measure at all but one intended to impose on the country a permanent system of conscription for military training and service. When the American people saw through this dodge they made their indignation felt.

At this point, when the UMT sections of the Selective Service law were headed for defeat, and military men began to fear they might carry the whole draft law to defeat with them, Congressman Vinson made some of his most adroit parliamentary maneuvers. He produced an amendment of Public Law 51 which did not enact UMT at all. What it did was to give a generalized approval to the *idea* of universal military training and instruct the President to appoint a National Security Training Com-

mission of five members who should draw up a plan for UMT and submit this to Congress. Congress could then do anything it pleased with this plan—adopt it, amend it, reject it, lay it on the table and forget all about it. The only stipulation was that the armed services committee—Mr. Vinson's committee—must report this plan in the form of a bill to Congress within 45 legislative days after its receipt.

As evidence that this is not a misleading report of the way in which Congressman Vinson's parliamentary manipulations managed barely to rescue UMT from utter defeat last spring, here is what *U.S. News & World Report* said about it at the time in its April 27, 1951, issue: "Representative Carl Vinson, of Milledgeville, Georgia, is the man who almost singlehanded saved universal military training in the House of Representatives. Vinson's skill in saving UMT after most of its friends had given it up is to go down as a rare example of parliamentary technique."

Congressman Vinson's device to save UMT from defeat in the previous session of Congress was the sort of parliamentary straddle some congressmen like. It committed Congress to nothing. It would enable any congressman after he got home to tell his constituents who opposed UMT, "You see, I didn't vote for it!" And it would enable him to tell his constituents who were in favor of UMT, "You see, I didn't vote against it!" It left the next Congress session—the one which starts on January 8—absolutely free to do as it pleases on this issue. That was what the UMT sections of Public Law 51, as passed finally last June, were in reality—a dodge, a straddle, a postponement, something that an adroit veteran congressman thought up at the last moment to keep the *possibility* of UMT alive—but just barely. Although they may not say so in public, members of Congress know that is true.

III

So the five-man National Security Training Commission was formed. To it President Truman appointed three civilians and two military men. The chairman was James W. Wadsworth, the veteran New York politician who has been both senator and representative from that state. The other civilians were William L. Clayton, of Texas, former undersecretary of state and head of what has been called the world's largest cotton brokerage firm, and Karl T. Compton, former president of M.I.T. and chairman of the commission which reported favorably on UMT in 1947. The other members were Admiral Thomas C. Kinkaid and General Raymond S. McLain. The commission heard 75 witnesses, and a list of these printed in its report shows that they were, like members of the commission, already committed to UMT and simply testified as to how they believed the UMT system should be organized and conducted.

It is this UMT commission's report which is now before Congress. It is also now before the American people—and that is a matter of the greatest importance. For with this report in their hands, the American people face a clear-cut decision. In this report they are shown UMT *as it will actually be* if Congress passes the law the UMT commission has drafted. There can be no speculation about what UMT means in the light of these specific proposals. Here they are, plainly set down in black and white, for every representative and senator, every U.S. citizen who wants to discharge his obligations responsibly, to read. While he reads he can weigh the best arguments that can be made for the UMT system.

In this study an effort is being made to show what this UMT system, as embodied in the commission's report and the law it is asking Congress to pass, would actually be if it went into effect. This study opposes such an enactment by Congress. It is based on a belief that the American people will demand its rejection by Congress if they can be given the information by which to gain an understanding of what is proposed and what is at stake for the American future. This study, accordingly, has been made to help Americans understand:

1. That UMT, as proposed in this report, is conscription—military conscription.

2. That UMT is peacetime conscription. It is of no use in time of war or serious crisis; the report makes that plain.

3. That UMT is permanent peacetime conscription. It is not an emergency measure to meet a sudden threat; it is a policy to go on year after year, putting generation after generation of American boys into uniform.

Such a policy will do more than habituate all American boys in "the habit of obedience to command." It will place the minds of young Americans under the terrific pressures of military indoctrination for the eight impressionable years between 18 and 26. It will give the Pentagon control of the nation's manpower in peacetime, for during those eight years all these young men will be under immediate command of the military, and after that they will be held in various stages of an inactive reserve—always subject to activation—until they are beyond the age where they can possibly serve the armed forces. An America under such a permanent peacetime conscription system would be a far different America from the one we have known.

IV

During recent years, and especially since the end of World War II, the encroachments of the military on civilian authority have deeply disturbed thoughtful Americans. More and more government departments and bureaus, more and more posts in the diplomatic service, more and more cabinet seats have gone to generals and admirals and colonels and commanders. The chief policy-making center in Washington has become the Pentagon. Should this UMT bill be enacted, the military—by taking over control of all Americans from 18 to 26—would take very nearly the final step before making this a fully militarized nation.

Therefore, this UMT proposal must be faced, brought fully into the open *and defeated*. This attempt to fasten on the United States the very system of peacetime conscription which has brought misery to Europe and Japan must be stopped in its tracks when it reaches Congress. General MacArthur told a congressional hearing last August, "I should advise most seriously, if I were considering [UMT], that I would wait and get through the emergency that faces us now, and then on what has resulted, and what exists then, I would sum up the facts and make my decision." That will sound like sense to

most Americans. But that is the very thing those who are trying to rush UMT into law don't want. They don't want this decided in a time of calm evaluation, when the present emergency is over. What they want is a stampede through Congress under the tension of the emergency.

But, take notice, this is *not emergency action.* It is *permanent peacetime conscription.* When the military first began to plug it a decade or so ago, they tried to make it more palatable to the American people by calling it Universal Military Training. Now, since these innocuous-sounding words are beginning to wear thin and show the grim reality they try to conceal, its supporters are trying to give it another name, National Security Training. By whatever name, it is military conscription as a permanent policy of the U.S.A. putting every American young man into uniform.

Shall Congress enact UMT? The history of America is against it. The spirit of America is against it. The American dream is against it. Now is the time for those Americans who have some inkling of all that is at stake when the passage of this legislation is proposed to say to Congress: No permanent peacetime conscription! No UMT!

Universal Military Training

The Report Submitted to Congress, Together with the Recommended Peacetime Conscription Law, Analyzed in Detail

ON October 29, 1951, the National Security Training Commission appointed by President Truman submitted its report to Congress. This is a 124-page document, "Universal Military Training: Foundation of Enduring National Strength," which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for 35 cents. The best test of this report would be to have every citizen read it. It is hoped that all readers of the present study will do so. The more carefully it is read, the more clear will become reasons for defeating the proposed UMT legislation. Meanwhile, as a guide to its contents, this summary and analysis is offered.

I. Introduction

THE UMT Commission's report opens with an introductory chapter which stresses the "Need for a Long-term Military Policy" and seeks to prove that the establishment of Universal Military Training will lay the foundation for such a policy. What the United States needs, says the commission, is a military policy which will "provide for swift adjustment between periods of acute crisis which demand large standing forces, and periods of relative calm which require smaller standing forces, plus a large, trained and ready reserve." It is the basis for this "large, trained and ready reserve" which UMT is supposed to supply. Because, the commission claims, the United States has not had this in the past—an unfounded claim, since this country has had a large reserve since long before World War II—it has suffered "violent fluctuations in military posture which have plagued the conduct of a consistent foreign policy based upon adequate strength."

Here is the fundamental assumption on which rests the whole UMT proposal made by the President's commission. It is, we believe, open to serious challenge. If viewed entirely from the military standpoint, there is nothing in the UMT plan as drawn in this report which would assure a "trained and ready"—especially "ready"—reserve. On the contrary, as will be shown, if "ready" means ready for combat duty, that is one thing which this plan will *not* produce. Young men drafted in this way will no more be ready for such duty than are the young men now voluntarily enlisted in the National Guard.

As has been proved by experience during the past few months, National Guard units require from seven months to a year and a half of added training before the army considers them fit for active service. Consequently, the claim that UMT will give the United States a military basis of a "large, trained and ready reserve" for a "foreign policy based upon adequate strength" is a deception. There is no "adequate strength," speaking from the military standpoint, in UMT. And neither the commission nor those who are backing its report can prove that there is.

Having laid down this deceptive premise, the commission's report proceeds to summarize and deplore the nation's past military policy. "During the 1930's," it says, "the nation was unarmed." This despite the fact that at that time (using fiscal 1938 as an example) more than $1.5 billion of national total expenditures of less than $8 billion was being spent for military purposes and that by 1940 the U.S. claimed to have the most powerful navy in the world. Then, after World War II, says the report, "by 1946 . . . once again we were unarmed." If so, what became of the billions spent every year on army, navy and airforce?

In 1947, the first year after World War II military expenses ended, the U.S. spent $17,141,692,417 for direct military outlays. In 1948, $11,983,599,753. In 1949, $13,869,912,436. In 1950, $13,496,073,083. These enormous expenditures, a total of more than $56 billion in four years, left the nation, asserts the commission, "unarmed." It castigates these "past weaknesses" as "moral failures." If there was moral failure involved, did it not attach to a military establishment which could spend $56,491,277,189 in four years and still leave the nation "unarmed"?

The commission's report, having presented this partisan survey of the past military policy of the United States,

plunges into a political analysis. It argues that UMT is necessary to meet the challenge of Soviet Russia and to ward off "the threat to a free society." Here it indulges in this remarkable assertion:

> Seen in this context of broad change and mortal conflict, Universal Military Training is an instrument equally suited to maintaining a workable balance of power or to providing full and rapid mobilization of trained American manpower in the unfortunate event of general war.

The first part of this assertion is preposterous. The idea that Soviet Russia would be held immobile by knowledge that the U.S. possessed from 800,000 to a maximum, after eight years of the utmost program envisaged by the commission, of 5,600,000 reserves with six months of training —which is what is meant by "maintaining a workable balance of power"—is childish when viewed against the realities of the power struggle. And the second assertion, that UMT would provide "full and rapid mobilization of trained American manpower" if war with Russia broke out, as will be shown farther on in this analysis is simply not true.

A Fallacious Explanation of Korea

Equally misleading is the report's next section, which tries to use the Korean crisis as a lesson in "The Penalty of Unpreparedness." The U.S. got into trouble in Korea, says the commission, because "there was no class of young and basically trained graduates of a UMT program ready to take their places in the battle-line." It is to be hoped that citizens and members of Congress will study this report carefully enough to see that the system of UMT it proposes would not provide "trained graduates . . . ready" for battle.

Moreover when the commission, in the same connection, deplores the fact that, since there was no UMT, it was necessary to send to Korea reservists who were "husbands and fathers," or "in business," or "beginning to make contributions in . . . professions," the thoughtful reader will ask whether this implies that, if UMT is adopted and the youth of America drafted into it, during their eight years of reserve service these young men would be required not to become "husbands and fathers," or not to go into business or start on professional careers. If this is *not* what the commission has in mind, why this disparagement of the present reserve system?

As a matter of fact, the UMT system recommended is planned to make such terrific demands on America's young men during the seven and a half years they must serve in the reserves, that the commission says young men selected by the armed services for professional training should have their reserve service deferred. It knows that a young man cannot do the work involved in becoming a good doctor, dentist or scientist and at the same time carry the load of service planned in the reserves.

Obligations of Citizenship

The final argument for UMT advanced by the commission in this introductory chapter is that it will make all young Americans aware of "the ultimate obligation of citizenship—the bearing of arms in defense of the community," and that it will enable them to go into battle "with a better-than-average chance to survive." Because there has been no UMT in the past, the report asserts, "many young Americans have lost their lives who might otherwise have lived." If there is UMT in the future, these young Americans will "learn to live with danger calmly and confidently." This, says the commission, "is a time for steady nerves. We believe a UMT program will produce these desired attributes in our young men."

The reader will have his own views as to what constitutes the "ultimate obligation" of good citizenship. We frankly admit that in the view of the authors of this study of the UMT proposal it is not military service. But whether or not this contention of the commission is accepted, we have no hesitation in saying that the rest of the argument in this section of the report has no basis in fact. As will be shown later in this study, the army's own investigations prove that there is no correlation between length of training and chance of survival in modern war. If anything, such figures as the army has gathered suggest that the prospects of becoming a casualty are at least as bad for the trained veteran as for the raw recruit. If the commission has any proof to support its assertion—an assertion constantly heard when UMT or any other system of universal peacetime conscription is being boosted—it should produce that proof. There is nothing in its report to sustain it.

As for the calmness or "the confidence to face even the worst possibilities of a catastrophic age," which the commission says will mark young men who have been through the UMT mill, how much serenity can be expected in a young man who knows that for seven and a half years after he gets out of UMT he can be started at a moment's notice for a battle-line or shipped overseas for army service? Calmness and confidence are two attributes which these proposed seven and a half years of being at the beck and call of the military will make impossible.

II. The UMT Program Outlined

WE COME now to the actual proposal. Here the commission, in 66 pages complete with charts, graphs, statistical tables and all the paraphernalia of government documents, plus 11 added pages giving the text of the bill which Congress is asked to pass, shows what the adoption of UMT will mean. Study these 77 pages and you get this picture:

1. Every American boy on attaining the age of 18 will become liable for induction into UMT. At first, the commission says, it expected to recommend that *all* 18-year-olds should be thus drafted. Later, on reflecting that UMT inductees will have to serve for seven and a half years in the reserve, from which they may at any time be called to combat duty, the commission decided that UMT should draft only such young men as can pass the present Selective Service standards, which the report calls "the lowest standards prescribed for the American armed forces in this century." This would mean, the commission estimates, that all 18-year-olds, "if they were capable of absorbing a fourth-grade education, even though they might be illiter-

ate or unable to speak English," would be taken. With the UMT program in full working order, the report believes that it would draft 800,000 young men every year. Estimates of cost are based on this figure.

2. These 800,000 UMT draftees would be divided between the three services. The army would get 50 per cent; the navy and marine corps 28 per cent; the airforce 22 per cent. These three services would provide six months of "basic training." This would be "exclusively military in character." UMT is not to be a semi-Hi Y or Boy Scout program after the Fort Knox pattern. That experiment in Uncle Sam paternalism is a thing of the past. This is to be straight army, navy, marine and airforce military training —the same kind given those conscripted into those branches of the service, and as much of it as can be crowded into six months.

3. It is recognized, however, that not much training can be given in six months. "The multiple technical skills upon which the services depend," says the report, "have one feature in common—a long period of formal schooling extending in most cases beyond the training period envisaged in UMT." Hence, after six months in UMT, the young American would automatically pass into the organized reserve where (a) he would receive advanced training and (b) he would be on call for active service for seven and a half years, or until he is 26. This call could come at any time, and as often as the Pentagon desired.

From UMT to 7½ Years in Reserve

A point to note is that this training in the reserve is not conceived as a perfunctory matter, as much training in National Guard units has been. It is to be hard, continuous and highly technical. Otherwise, the commission acknowledges, its plan for UMT will be useless. It calls the expectation that "a vigorous and efficient reserve program" will be adopted by Congress, *in addition* to the UMT program, a "vital assumption" underlying its whole proposal. Thus it appears that the expense of UMT, if approved by Congress, will open the door to an added, and probably much greater, outlay for the expanded reserve program which the commission says UMT will require.

4. While in UMT, what will be the status of the draftee? Will he be a member of the armed forces? Here the commission has been forced to do some fancy verbal dodging. The report of the House of Representatives which authorized the President to appoint a commission to formulate a tentative UMT plan to lay before Congress, specifically required that young men in UMT should *not* be members of the armed forces. But since under the plan submitted (a) UMT training is to be "exclusively military," (b) given by the armed forces, and (c) will send its trainees into the armed forces in their organized reserves, the commission comes up with this triumphant example of official double-talk:

> Trainees should have a carefully circumscribed military status: they should not be members of the armed forces, but the National Security Training Corps . . . should find its place within the broad organizational structure that embraces the land, air and naval forces.

What the commission is trying to say is that trainees in UMT shall not be in the armed forces enough to break the prohibition laid down by the House of Representatives, but that they shall be in enough to make it constitutionally legal for Congress to conscript them! Under the Constitution, the commission reminds those who read its report, Congress has power only "to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and to provide for the common defense." If UMT is not part of the armed forces, has Congress any right to draft all 18-year-olds into it? The commission wants to be safe at that point. It is not necessary here to recount all the provisions by which it tries to work out a system under which the peacetime draftee will be at the orders of the army, navy or airforce and yet in some way not a part of any of these services.

From the standpoint of the draftee it can be said that about the only times during his six months of UMT service when he will know he is not in the armed services will be on pay day. Then he will draw $30 a month, while the army recruit begins at $75.

Six Months in UMT Camps

5. How will the 18-year-old be assigned to service? As in the present conscription system, he will be called up by his local draft board, physically and mentally tested, and then assigned on the basis of the calls from the branches of the service. Inductions will take place monthly. The commission has turned thumbs down on the American Legion proposal for a UMT split into two 3-month periods in consecutive summers. This was put forward by the Legion as a way to avoid upsetting the educational progress of high school boys who plan to go on to college and professional training. But the commission argues that this would be almost prohibitively costly and "special privilege" for "the college aspirant." It offers, however, the chance at age 17 of voluntary enlistment and an expressed preference of services to potential college students who wish to control the time of their induction and the branch in which they will serve. But it hedges this prospect of choosing by volunteers among the branches of the armed service with the phrase, "within the limits of applicable quotas." Those familiar with army ways know how much actual personal choice there is likely to be for the UMT boy "within the limits of applicable quotas."

6. Under Selective Service there are many deferments. Will there be under UMT? Practically none. Provisions similar to those in the present draft act will permit high school students to graduate and college students to complete the year of study in which their 18th birthdays find them. What few are deferred to take professional training —a special class noted below—remain liable for reserve duty until they are 35. But there are to be no dependency deferments except in "extreme hardship" cases, and no occupational deferments except possibly brief ones for seasonal work on farms. Conscientious objectors will be treated as they now are under the conscription law.

One class of deferments, however, deserves mention. The commission proposes that, at the end of the 6-month UMT period, the armed services pick out the men they want to have receive medical, dental and scientific training and that these be granted seven and a half years' deferment of their service in the reserves. Then, having finished their professional training, they would go into the active services and reserves where, says the commission,

they "would provide the armed forces with reservists who were qualified doctors, dentists and technicians, instead of mere apprentices in these fields."

In practice this would mean (a) that the armed forces would select the future medical men and technologists of the nation; (b) that those thus selected would not be free to begin building their civilian careers until 15 years after graduation from high school, or in most cases about age 33; (c) that civilian needs for doctors and scientists not thus provided by the military system could only be met from those the armed services tossed aside as lacking in promise. It would also mean that, whereas the young men picked by the armed services to become doctors and scientists would take their training free from the interruptions and other handicaps of service in the reserve, the medical and scientific students not on the army's privileged list would be without this advantage. In other words, young men preparing to be civilian doctors would do so under conditions UMT itself acknowledges by implication would make a first-class professional education virtually impossible.

What Would Training Be Like?

7. Then would come the training itself. The commission's report gives in great length the army, navy and airforce proposals for carrying this on. These are worth careful study, for they make it very clear how far the "graduate" of the UMT camp will be from being ready for active service. Some of this training is to be in special UMT camps, like the "boot camps" of the navy. Much of it—as much as 40 per cent of the program in the case of the airforce—is to be training "on the job." That means the UMT boys will be sent to regular posts of the three branches of the service, and will be trained right along with regular units. Yet, remember, they won't be "members of the armed forces"!

8. Now we reach a factor in the UMT plan which the commission shows it wishes could be sidestepped. How many men will it take to train the boys in UMT, and how much will it cost? The report gives the answers furnished the commission by the army, navy and airforce, though with evident reluctance. All three services say that if the training is to have any value, *it will take one "trainor" to every two trainees!* That means 200,000 "trainors," assuming that there will be 400,000 trainees every six months. A heavy proportion of these "trainors" will be officers, and all assigned to this UMT service are to be over and above the present strength of the armed forces. And the cost is estimated at $4,187,983,600 for the first year and $2,158,746,200 for every year thereafter! This does not take into account the possible effect on costs of steadily rising prices.

The commission says it thinks this is too high an estimate of cost, and that it thinks the ratio of "trainors" to trainees too high. It admits, however, that it has no figures of its own with which to challenge the estimates of the three services. Moreover, it should be noted that the detailed estimates submitted by the army (Exhibit 7, page 21 of the report) show that while that branch expects its share of UMT to cost $761,959,000 the first year, it expects the cost to go up to $1,062,510,000 annually after that! The commission's over-all estimates show a decreasing cost after the first year. But the army doesn't agree. It thinks the UMT cost will rise.

Result—Not One Trained Soldier!

9. And now we come to the astonishing climax of this whole proposal. If UMT is adopted, if universal conscription in peace as in war is thus saddled on the people of the United States, what will it produce? Young men ready at a moment's notice to meet the test of war? Not one! Not one without years of additional training in a reserve program that is still only a dream in the blueprint stage. Even after that, not one without the additional training that all the services insist is necessary to make reserve units battle-worthy.

All this expenditure of billions, all this mortgaging of the best years of America's young men, and as a result not a single man ready for combat! Yet if, despite the meagerness of this military result, Congress is still asked to enact the UMT law, how soon can that law go into effect? Hold onto your hats for the answer to that one. The law cannot go into effect now, and the commission admits that it does not know when *if ever* it can go into effect!

The draft, as the commission knows, already requires "every available man now in the pool" of those between 18½ and 26. Since the report was published Selective Service has let it be known that next year the present number of deferments must be drastically reduced. In other words, the 18-to-26 pool must be still further lowered. *This means, the commission agrees, that while the armed forces have to be kept at their present strength there can be no UMT.* Still less can there be, of course, if this strength is increased.

"Nevertheless," says the commission, it is "firm in its conviction that the legislation necessary to implement the program should be enacted into law without delay. . . . In this period of uncertainty in which we live, such a program on the statute books, and thus responsive to the initiative of the President or Congress, would provide a sound and enduring method for maintaining a strong and ready reserve." In plain words, what the commission is saying is: Get the law passed now, even if it cannot go into effect. Some day there may be a chance to put it into operation—and think how fine it will be to be able to start peacetime conscription then without giving the people a chance to act on it!

The commission hopes to get this system for universal conscription written into law now, although it knows it cannot be put into effect now or as long as the tense world situation continues. But if enacted now, to go into effect at the word of the President or Congress, then at some later date in time of peace, when demobilization of the armed forces became possible, by the decision of one man—the President—this type of conscription could begin to function. When that day will come this report nowhere seeks to forecast. What the commission is after is to get a law on the statute books in this time of crisis that cannot go into effect while the crisis lasts, a law that never would be passed except in time of crisis, with the expectation that when the crisis is past it will be brought into effect as a perpetual, peacetime national policy.

It may be argued that this interpretation of the commission's intention is weakened by the fact that the com-

mission asked the armed forces to make estimates of the cost of a try-out "pilot project" for only 60,000 UMT draftees. This, however, was a meaningless gesture. In the first place, 60,000 UMT draftees would be so small a number as to have virtually no significance in planning for national defense. And in the second place, while Selective Service is scraping the bottom of the 18-to-26 age-pool, there is no more chance of the armed services putting 60,000 into UMT than of their putting in the 800,000 on which the UMT program is based.

III. Other Aspects of UMT

WE HAVE now reviewed the main working parts of the UMT proposal which the National Security Training Commission is recommending to Congress. This does not, however, complete the report. Much attention in this document is given to three aspects of any UMT program which would be subsidiary to the main purpose of military training, but which might prove of the utmost importance to any individual draftee. The first of these concerns disability benefits for the boys who sustain injuries while in UMT. The second has to do with the regulations under which they will be tried and the punishments which may be inflicted on them if they are charged with offenses against discipline while in UMT. The third considers the moral conditions surrounding UMT service. Let us look at these one after the other.

Disability Benefits

Pages and pages of the commission's report are given to recommendations for benefits to be paid UMT draftees, or their survivors, for injuries received while in service. The tables computing these benefits are so extensive that we cannot summarize them. Anyone interested should look them up in the commission's report. There are also provisions requiring the UMT draftees to make good to the government any loss of equipment or any damage to government property for which they may be responsible.

A boy in UMT will be covered by the same $10,000 free insurance policy while he is in training and for 120 days after his release from active duty as is provided by the government for every member of the U.S. armed forces. But in order to insure that boys who are injured while in UMT do not receive the benefits of the Veterans Administration, the commission proposes that UMT trainees shall be regarded as being "within the jurisdiction of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, rather than of the laws governing disabled veterans of the armed forces."

In other words, this is one of the places in the recommended legislation where, because of the difference in the benefits involved, the commission wants to make it clear that boys in UMT are not in the armed forces, but merely civil employees of the government, whose benefits are figured on the basis of theoretical pay of $150 a month (they are actually to be paid $30 a month) which they have drawn for only six months or less. Actual disability benefits figured on such a basis would be pretty small. But the commission recommends that if a boy is killed or dies in UMT training he shall have a fine funeral, with all burial expenses paid by the government. He may not, however, be buried in a national cemetery.

There Will Be Casualties

All this concern about disability benefits may seem like a marginal matter until one stops to think about it. Then one realizes that 800,000 young men cannot be put through the rigorous sort of "exclusively military" training which the commission is proposing without a considerable number getting hurt, a larger number getting sick and some dying. A report on casualties in the "realistic" training with live ammunition now employed in the U.S. army (you can find this in the *San Francisco Chronicle* for December 18, 1948) states that the normal casualty rate is 2 per cent. That would mean, out of 800,000 UMT draftees, 16,000 casualties a year.

Boys in camps get hurt trying to use unfamiliar weapons and machinery. They get sick. And one of the most common experiences—ask any doctor if you doubt this—is that those who find it hard to adjust to life in the military services become the so-called psychoneurotic casualties. Four out of every ten medical discharges during World War II were for nervous or mental illnesses. And of the large and heart-rending number now receiving pensions or medical and hospital treatment as "neuro-psychiatrics," the *Washington Post* says, 89 per cent never saw combat duty.

All these factors indicate that if you have a boy who will be drafted into UMT, if Congress enacts the proposed UMT law, you had better send for the commission's report and make a careful study of all the disability and death benefits.

Code of Conduct and Trials

Another long section of the UMT report deals with the military laws under which UMT draftees are to live and the regulations for the courts which are to try them if they are charged with breaking those laws. Not all the boys who are drafted into UMT camps will prove 100 per cent perfect in conduct. Coming from all sorts of social backgrounds, they can be expected to exhibit all sorts of reactions to the rigid discipline of the armed forces. Many times they will regard regulations laid down to control them as unreasonable, and accordingly will try to get around them. That always happens in military camps. In extreme cases, they may even revolt against obeying orders or may go A.W.O.L.

The UMT commission, knowing that it is dealing with a mass of 18-year-old boys, many of whom will be sullen at the interruption of their education and at the prospect of having a real start on their civilian careers delayed for eight long years, has no illusions about the dimensions of the disciplinary problem. That many boys in high school would constitute a tremendous disciplinary problem. Under the temptations and grousing of army, navy, marine and airforce life, this disciplinary problem will take on gigantic proportions. The commission knows it and tries to provide for it.

Briefly, the recommendation made by the commission is that the UMT boys shall be under all the regulations

of the branches of the service to which they are assigned. If they get into trouble, and have to be tried by courts-martial or in the other manners usual in the military establishment, the commission expresses a hope that the extreme youth of the UMT draftees will be taken into account in lightening their sentences. Nevertheless, they will be liable to exactly the same penalties that are inflicted on regular soldiers in army courts. These are often very stiff. Verdicts of 5, 10 and 20 years' imprisonment after army trials are reported in the press.

In the case of UMT, the commission knows there is danger of an adverse public reaction to the prospect of exposing these 18-year-old draftees to the sometimes savage verdicts of military courts. It sees no way of putting them under some other system of discipline than that of the branches of the armed forces which will be training them.

But the commission tries to soften up the prospect by two factors. First, it expresses the hope that the new Uniform Code of Military Justice, which went into effect in the armed forces only last May 31, 1951, will protect the rights of noncommissioned men accused of misconduct better than did the old system of army and navy trials. And second, it recommends that when any boy in UMT is charged with murder, voluntary manslaughter, rape, robbery, maiming, arson or aggravated assault, if he refuses, after his company commander talks to him, to grasp "the opportunity to accept [!] trial by general court-martial," he may be allowed to demand a trial in the civil courts if he thinks he will get a better deal there than in the courts of the armed services. This is just a recommendation; there is nothing about it in the proposed UMT law.

Moral Conditions in UMT

When it comes to the matter of securing decent moral conditions in the camps for 800,000 American teen-age boys in UMT, the commission has produced a curious and contradictory report. It is a report which acknowledges the seriousness of the problem and gives all sort of verbal support to good resolutions to do everything needful to see that moral conditions in UMT service are kept at a high level. Yet, when it comes down to the vital point of recommending legislation, the UMT commission admits that it has done nothing. The best it can do, it appears from the report, is to say that the moral conditions in UMT camps will depend largely on the type of men selected as "trainors," and that these 200,000 should therefore be of the highest moral character; to ask that the commission be given the right to veto any rules the secretary of defense might make concerning moral conditions at UMT installations; and to beg the towns near UMT camps to form voluntary committees and other groups to try to protect the morals and keep up the morale of the UMT boys.

Read the sections on "Moral Welfare" in the chapter on "Measures for the Welfare of Trainees" in the commission's report, and see for yourself whether, when all the verbiage is boiled down to its actual content, this is not the sum and substance of what is provided. Then place that, in your mind, over against descriptions of the moral conditions in and around army camps. Perhaps you have your own recollections. Perhaps you have read such an account of life in the peacetime army as the current best-seller, *From Here to Eternity,* by James Jones. Perhaps you have a friend on whom you can rely for a report of what moral conditions in and around military camps are like. Perhaps you saw the pictures in *Life* or remember the recent newspaper accounts of what the Senate investigating committee found at Biloxi.

Take any of these standards of measurement you prefer and place over against it, in your mind, the actual proposals of the UMT commission for safeguarding the moral health of your boy if he is taken to UMT camp. Then reach your own conclusion as to whether this is the sort of prospect to which you want him subjected.

"The call to military training," says the UMT commission, "takes the majority of young American men away from their home communities for the first time in their lives. Entrance into UMT will mark for many their first extended absence from the familiar social, religious and recreational pattern of home and friends. . . . One may readily grasp the social problems inherent in such a mass relocation." The commission is also sure that "as regards welfare and morals, the measures which can be spelled out in law are but a small part of the total measures required. Essentially they prohibit or restrict, whereas the greater need is to inspire or lead, to establish high standards of honorable conduct within the program."

'Inspirational Programs'—Of What Use?

As theory, this is sound. Perhaps the commission might have said something about the propensity of teen-age boys to regard any prohibitions as a challenge to evasion, with the consequent need for strict enforcement regulations. But let that pass. The fact is that the UMT report calls for this "inspirational" program to "establish high standards of conduct" as the basis of the moral safeguarding of the UMT camps.

And on what is this to depend? On three things already established in the armed forces: (1) religious services; (2) character guidance lectures; (3) a troop information and educational program. The religious services are to consist of the usual chapel meetings led by chaplains. The character guidance lectures are to cover "sex education, responsibility, marriage and family life, religion, moral principles, citizenship"—which takes in quite a stretch of territory. The information and educational program is to consist of lectures on current events and study courses which the draftee can pursue in his free time.

Of the uplift lectures and those on world politics the commission itself writes: "The services have been frank to admit that the information program is something less than an unqualified success. There is widespread indifference to it." If you want to know what a triumph of understatement this is, ask almost any member of the armed forces, officer or enlisted man.

As to the study classes, it is worth recalling that in the Fort Knox "experiment," when the UMT boys were hand-picked and coddled as it is safe to say no recruits have ever been before (or will be again) in any army, although textbooks and materials worth $75 were offered for a $2 enrollment fee, and every possible pressure was exerted, of 664 boys only 107 signed. And in most sub-

jects the classes melted away until, by the end of the training period, almost none were left. Thus of 60 who started studying auto-mechanics, only 15 stuck. Of 25 in the radio repair class, only two were left after a few weeks.

200,000 Paragons of Virtue Required

The real reliance of the commission for its "constructive" moral program, however, is on the high type of men who are to be designated by the armed forces to train the UMT draftees. "Men of high moral character should be selected as commanding officers of UMT camps or stations; all trainor personnel . . . should be capable of exemplifying the high standards established." Again: "We consider it a matter of first importance that all trainors involved in the UMT program be carefully selected and thoroughly indoctrinated in the working philosophy of the program. They must accept responsibility [for the moral conditions in UMT] on a round-the-clock basis, and that applies to every level of leadership from top to bottom."

As an ideal, who will quarrel with this? But when it is remembered that the commission is talking about 200,000 "trainors," drawn from all parts of the active forces and reserve—but in addition to the number fixed by Congress in the active forces—the American citizen with an everyday knowledge of his fellows will ask, Where are these 200,000 paragons to come from? Are there that many Boy Scout troop leaders in the whole United States? This program would make even heavier moral and intellectual demands than are made on Scout leaders.

Of course, the commission report recognizes that *some* prohibitions will be required if moral conditions in UMT are not to become a national scandal. It knows, for example, that records of the U.S. surgeon general reveal that in the peacetime army the venereal disease rate was 37 times above that of similar age-groups in college. Accordingly, it provides that "it should be unlawful to establish or maintain a brothel or other like facility within a reasonable distance of any place where members of the corps are in training." But what is "a reasonable distance"? And when the commission recommends that, after the head of a UMT camp has declared a brothel "off-limits to trainees," it should be made "unlawful" to permit a trainee to enter if done "knowingly," one again asks, What will the lawyers do with that word "knowingly"?

Moreover, there are two additional loopholes in these recommendations regarding prostitution which should not be overlooked. First, nothing is said about keeping the 200,000 "trainors"—the men who are drilling the UMT draftees—out of brothels. So far as the report shows, there would be no limitations on their actions. And second, the young UMT draftees would not be liable to punishment if they patronized an establishment of this sort which, either by oversight or for some other reason, the local camp commandant had not designated as off-limits.

Liquor and the UMT

As to liquor, the report is equally unsatisfactory. "No beer," says the commission, "should be sold in a UMT training area. All taverns and bars within a reasonable [note that "reasonable" again!] distance from UMT camps or stations should be off-limits to trainees." But when the UMT boys are being trained in the camps and other installations of the regular forces, as will be the case much of the time, "existing armed forces regulations governing the use of intoxicating drinks" should apply to them. In other words, beer at the PX.

To any American parent who may be anxious about the moral temptations to which his 18-year-old boy will be subjected if he is drafted into a UMT corps, these provisions in the commission's report are likely to look very weak and unsatisfactory. He may also note the complete silence on gambling. No provision whatever is made for dealing with such a situation as was recently uncovered in Biloxi, where the recruits in their free time seem to have done little else but throw away their pay in gambling joints. Only if the camp commander, on his own responsibility, should take steps is there to be any check on gambling. There is not a word about gambling in the whole report.

Yet even this does not tell the whole story. The UMT commission did not, at the showdown, recommend to Congress the enactment of even such flimsy moral safeguards as it talks about in its report! That may sound incredible. But turn to page 45 of the report and read: "We have not provided for these recommendations [on prostitution and liquor] in our proposed legislation."

What Moral Safeguards?

What has the commission done to protect the moral surroundings of these 18-year-old boys, many of whom are "away from their home communities for the first time in their lives"? It admits that it has not recommended legislation to control liquor or prostitution in and around UMT camps. But it has asked Congress to change the present conscription law so that if the secretary of defense makes any regulations regarding liquor which apply to UMT, the commission "must approve" these before they go into effect.

This provision in the report does three interesting things. (1) It implies that the secretary of defense may make regulations governing "the sale, consumption, possession of or traffic in" intoxicants for UMT boys. (2) It also implies that the UMT commission would not trust the defense department in making such rules. (3) It also implies that the commission fears lest the secretary of defense might issue regulations on brothels, liquor, gambling and the like which would be stricter than the commission would approve.

Beyond saying, then, that the 200,000 men who do the training in UMT must be of the very highest caliber, that the commission's report makes no recommendations for legislation to control liquor or prostitution in and around UMT camps, and that if the secretary of defense decides to issue regulations to deal with these evils his actions must be subject to the approval of the UMT commission, the UMT report has nothing to offer on dealing with what it agrees is an immense moral problem! Is that true? Can it be true? Is that *all* the commission, when the showdown comes, has to propose?

Well, perhaps not quite all. The commission does devote some space to fervent appeals to the local communities near UMT camps to look after the young men who drift about their streets on leave. "If the young men are to retain their faith in those moral and spiritual values imparted

to them in their home environments," says the commission's report, "the communities adjacent to the camps and stations must reflect those same values in their relations with the young men. . . . In this regard, the local communities will have a basic responsibility and may be a decisive factor in determining the success of UMT."

This is one for the book! It should be read with especial interest in those towns of from 2,000 to 10,000 which are thus called on to take care of the morals and morale of 25,000 or so boys in a near-by camp. This passage comes just after the UMT commission has admitted, higher up on the same page of its report, that it flunked out when it came to recommending legislation on liquor, prostitution and other vices to protect the morals of the boys drafted into UMT. But here it turns around and says to the people in a town who may find themselves near UMT installations: "It's up to you! You do it! We haven't; we've fallen down. But you do it!"

And this is the *actuality* of the legislation for a UMT system proposed by the UMT commission which American citizens and their Congress are now about to be called on to approve!

U.M.T.—A Giant Hoax

Promises to the American People Concerning Gains from Proposed Conscription System Will Not Bear Scrutiny

IT IS a harsh thing to say, but it is nevertheless a fact that most of the promises being made to the American people to induce them to adopt permanent UMT conscription are false. Careful examination of the UMT report presented to Congress by the National Security Training Commission will show that these promises have no factual basis. UMT will not save lives. UMT will not save money. UMT will not save time in getting armies into action overseas if war breaks out. UMT will not do many of the other things the American public has been told it will do.

If you have any doubts about this, let's look at the record.

1. *Would the adoption of UMT provide more trained soldiers for the present emergency?* No.

As a matter of fact, if UMT were put into effect now it would reduce the effectiveness of the present armed forces. For one reason, it would draw out of the pool of young men of military age many of those whom Selective Service says it must have if the army is to be kept at the strength authorized by Congress. (The army announced in November that it would ask Congress, when it meets, to increase its authorized strength by another half-million.)

For another reason, UMT now would weaken rather than strengthen our military effort because it would make necessary the withdrawal of scores of thousands of officers and noncommissioned officers from the army and other branches to train the UMT draftees. The UMT program, the armed services say, would require 200,000 such "trainors." Take 200,000 men fit to do this exacting job of training out of the present armed services and see what would happen to the efficiency of the present units!

If you think this over you will understand why Hanson W. Baldwin, military editor of the *New York Times* and America's foremost commentator on military matters, has said in that paper: "It is unlikely the UMT would be invoked by the President for some time to come, for to start it now in the midst of our present emergency would greatly complicate our preparedness program."

This also is undoubtedly the reason why General Douglas MacArthur, when testifying before a congressional committee last August, said: "I should advise most seriously, if I were considering [UMT] that I would wait and get through the emergency that faces us now, and then on what has resulted, and what exists then, I would sum up the facts and make my decision." There's something for Congress to think about. To us, General MacArthur's words make sense.

2. *Would men trained in UMT be available for immediate service in the event of war?* No.

This is the point at which more Americans are misinformed about UMT than at any other. Modern war is not fought by individual soldiers carrying rifles, but by combat "teams." Training these teams to work together is the hardest as well as the most important part of the training. A uniformed man may know all about "squads right" and "squads left," he may be able to keep perfect step and alignment marching down the avenue in a parade, yet if he has not had this training with big units and the constantly changing weapons which require highly specialized handling, in war he will be useless.

Retraining Needed

Coordinating the troop units that are actually to fight together is one thing UMT cannot do. Neither can it give its trainees the technical skills modern weapons demand. Therefore men who had served their six months in UMT and later were called up for active service—that "trained and ready reserve" the UMT report talks about—would have to be given this training in combat units from the beginning. They would also have to learn through refresher courses how to handle the newer weapons. General Mark Clark, commanding our ground forces, made clear what this would mean when he said (see *New York Times*, October 26, 1950) that it takes from seven to nine months to bring previously trained National Guard and Organized Reserve units to "operational readiness" when they are mobilized. Actual experience with some of the units recently called up has shown that it takes longer than that.

An article in that dependable newspaper, the *New York*

Times, stated that National Guard divisions called into federal service in September would not be ready for combat duty before the following spring or summer, despite the fact that the men in these units had been well trained as individuals. "They had worked only in small units," said the report. "They were far from ready to go into the field to operate in corps or armies." Of course, that same thing would be true of UMT trainees, only in increased measure.

Wasted Years

In a letter to a U.S. senator written last March, General J. Lawton Collins, chief of staff of the army, said that even men with previous army training—that is, men who have actually served with the big battle units—need to have "intensive refresher training" when they are called back into service. If that is true of men with experience and training of that sort, what would be true in the case of boys who had been given only the limited training at squad, platoon and company levels of the six-months UMT? What point is there in sending them off for six months to a UMT camp, and then keeping them in the reserves for seven and a half years more, if, should a call to action come, they would then have to be retrained anyway?

3. *Would UMT help to reduce casualties in case of a future war?* No.

Here is another matter about which numbers of American parents are being deceived. The UMT commission in its report lends itself to this deception. Because there has been no UMT, says the report, "young men whose parents and communities have expended great effort to prepare them for the trials of manhood—for the crises of life and work—have consistently been denied the military training which would provide them with a better-than-average chance to survive in battle." This is an appeal to parents to push for UMT so that their sons will have "a better-than-average chance to survive in battle." The UMT commission should be ashamed of itself for trying to put such a deception over on the fathers and mothers of America.

Official army studies, as the *Infantry Journal* reported in September 1949, show that there is nothing in the claim that trained soldiers have less chance of getting hit than untrained. The greatest number of casualties, says this professional army magazine, are caused by fragments from high explosive shells which, like atomic bombs, do not discriminate between trained and untrained men. Battle casualties in World War II were, as would be expected, highest among front-line troops. There they occurred about equally among battle-hardened veterans and raw recruits. But since commanders naturally put as many experienced men up front as they could, it was inevitable that the largest number of casualties would be suffered by the trained men.

Veterans No Safer Than Recruits

This study in the *Infantry Journal* sums up its conclusions in these decisive words: "No factual data exists to support the universally held opinion that the infantry replacement has initially a higher casualty rate than the veteran." In other words, on the authority of this service magazine, the UMT commission's promise of a "better-than-average" chance to escape casualties for UMT trainees is a hoax.

Moreover, troops suffer innumerable casualties for reasons which all the training in the world cannot eliminate. There is disease which cannot always be prevented. Generals make mistakes. Intelligence reports turn out to be wrong. (The generals are still passing the buck on the intelligence reports before the Battle of the Bulge in World War II, and now another controversy is starting about the responsibility of faulty intelligence for the slaughter of American troops in the abortive drive to the Yalu in Korea in November 1950.) A boy in the airforce, reports the *Army and Navy Journal,* has much more chance of being hurt in training at home than in combat overseas. And then there are always accidents, like the jeep smash-ups in which General Walker was killed in Korea or General Patton in Germany.

4. *Would UMT improve the national health?* No.

This claim is a holdover from the days of the dream-world UMT. But it is still heard once in a while, and it should be considered briefly. So many were rejected for army service for health reasons during World War II that it has been widely felt something should be done to remedy the situation. It is promised that six months of "healthful outdoor training" in UMT would do this.

However, this is likewise a baseless idea for two reasons: (1) Boys are going to be drafted into UMT, if the commission's recommendations are approved by Congress, on exactly the same physical basis as they are now drafted into the armed services. The physically and mentally unfit who can't pass the tests now will not pass if this UMT goes into effect. So there will be no UMT "healthful outdoor exercise" for those who need it. (2) Most of the physical conditions which have been the cause for rejections by the armed services originate in childhood diseases, malnutrition or inadequate medical and dental care. If the billions UMT would cost were devoted to a system of child health centers across the country, something could really be done to improve the national health. But waiting until these boys are 18, and unable to pass the physical tests, is to wait too long.

Adding Billions to Taxpayers' Load

5. *Would UMT save money for the nation?* No.

The UMT program proposed by the commission in its report to Congress would cost, according to the estimates given by the armed services, $4,187,983,600 the first year and $2,158,746,200 every year thereafter. The commission admits that this sounds dreadfully high. It says it thinks the cost could be cut, but it doesn't say how. If the inflationary spiral in which we are now caught continues, the cost will of course be above the estimate. Experienced taxpayers would expect it to be above the estimate anyway, for the armed services do not make a practice of telling the taxpayers in advance the utmost bad news about what their operations are going to cost. Ask your congressman; he knows!

The only basis on which taxpayers could hope that UMT might reduce the national military expenditures would be if its establishment were to bring a sharp reduction in the size of the regular armed forces. As will be shown in the next paragraph, the UMT report warns

against having this happen. Financially what UMT would mean, therefore, would be an addition of over $4 billion to the national military outlay the first year and over $2 billion yearly thereafter, plus $267,200,000 for each year's UMT contingent passing into the reserves. In sum, the United States would add $20 billion to its military expenditures in the next eight years without getting a single additional soldier ready for combat duty.

6. *Would UMT eliminate the need for a large standing army?* No.

Here is another false promise to the American people. It is one which the report of the UMT commission at least inferentially makes. It has no substance. Why?

First, because UMT cannot go into effect while the world situation remains so tense that the Pentagon insists the U.S. must have armed forces of the present size or larger. That means years. Those who know the Pentagon doubt whether the military minds there will *ever* agree that it would be safe to reduce our standing forces below their present level.

Second, as has been shown, men who go through UMT require months of retraining before they can be ready for active service. Naturally, the regular forces cannot be reduced while that is going on.

Third, a good-sized army of its own would be required just to do the UMT training—200,000 hand-picked men, according to the report. This figure would have to be added to the total of those which the Pentagon would insist on holding in the regular services.

Nature of Future War Against UMT

Fourth, the nature of future war must be taken into account. A future major war will be fought with jet planes, guided missiles, atom bombs. These all require highly specialized handling—such handling as can be given only by the long and highly trained men in the regular services. Can you see the Pentagon discharging such men because there were 18-year-old boys getting a little rudimentary drill in UMT camps?

Finally, such a war, fought with such weapons, would quite possibly be decided before the UMT reserves could be called up, much less given a year's retraining to make them ready for service. That, as you know, is the underlying conception of atomic warfare—an initial paralyzing knockout blow. Under such conditions, of course no military leader would agree to reduce the trained standing forces and rely on the UMT reserves. If he did, his fellow officers would question his sanity or demand his removal for incompetence.

Now note this: There is evidence that the UMT commission itself knows that the promise of a reduction in the standing army and in the military costs of the government to follow adoption of its proposed UMT law is a false promise. The commission holds out this promise in several places in its report. But if the reader will keep on reading through this long document, and will keep his mind alert as he reads, over on page 69 he will come to this: "We emphasize that UMT is only one of several elements vital to our military security. Failure to recognize this truth could be dangerous if UMT were, for example, to become an excuse for the precipitate reduction of our standing forces."

That tells the story! Even if Congress can be brought to vote for its UMT program, says the UMT commission, there must be no "precipitate reduction of the standing forces." What reduction would the Pentagon *not* consider precipitate?

Education in the Army

By Robert M. Hutchins

IF Universal Military Training is necessary, it is a necessary evil. It must be justified solely as a military program and measured by its effectiveness as such. There is no other excuse for it.

Some advocates of universal military training have argued that it is a great thing for the young: It teaches them patriotism, teamwork, and even morality. I imagine that if you took a flock of juvenile delinquents and put them in the army, it might do them good, though they might be hard on the army.

The army is a leveler and its level is low. If a boy has gone through childhood without seeing a toothbrush or taking a bath; if he has run wild on the streets or in the backwoods; if he has had no family and never gone to school, then military training may improve him, though I am not sure how much nor for how long.

How durable and effective as a civilizing force can conscription be? Take the matter of morals. Morals are simply good habits formed by the repetition of good acts. Coercion plays its part in the formation of these habits at every stage of our lives; our parents train us in part by coercion when we are children, and the law and the police force are there to coerce us, if necessary, later on.

But the essence of morality is that the habits that constitute it should result from acts that are freely chosen and can be rationally defended. We would not be particularly happy if we thought that the prospect of going to jail was all that persuaded our citizens not to commit capital crimes.

We know that the jail has to be there for some of them; but our hope is that the greater part of the population will not want to commit crimes, or that if the idea of committing one occurs to them, they will refrain because of the habit of rectitude, not the fear of the penitentiary.

It is surely one of the greatest differences between a slave state and a free country that the one relies on external discipline applied to the citizens by the state, and the other relies on their own self-control and self-discipline.

Under military discipline the individual's chance to make free choices almost disappears. Somebody tells him what to do every minute of every day, and the first lesson the private learns is "never volunteer."

I was in the army from the age of 18 to the age of 20 and cannot recommend it as a school of responsible citizenship. I came out lazier and more negligent than when I went in. I became an expert at cutting the corners and at the elaborate kind of cheating to which privates devote most of their time. The essence of this is learning to look as though you are working when you are not, appearing to be obedient when you are not, and thinking up and putting over pretexts for avoiding any disagreeable task. In addition I acquired a large vocabulary of improper words.

I admit that I had led a sheltered life, so that my military experiences came as a greater shock to me than might have been the case if I had not been the son of a Presbyterian minister who had become a professor.

But I think it stands to reason that, though free and independent citizens make the best army, the army is not the best place to make free and independent citizens. The place for that is the educational system. If the system is not doing its job, let us reform it. Let us not delude ourselves into thinking that universal military training can do what the educational system ought to do.

Published originally in the *Chicago Daily News* and other Knight newspapers, May 8, 1951.

Your Boy and U.M.T.

By Pearl S. Buck

YOUR BOY and my boy, 18 years old, are too young to vote. Before the law they are still children. Yet they are in grave danger of being forced to spend two to three years of their most finally formative period in an environment where they would be separated from every good influence of home and community, if Congress decides upon universal military training.

The UMT commission has not planned to provide moral safeguards for our boys. They will be herded into camps, just as if they were regular soldiers. Any protection at all against vice or liquor will depend upon the local commanders, and we have no voice in choosing these commanders. Were the boys at home we would choose carefully indeed the colleges to which they would be sent; we would consider it important to have them with good teachers and good people. But when the army takes them, any commander will do.

Biloxi Can Happen Anywhere

What happened recently at Biloxi, Mississippi, as disclosed in *Life* magazine, can happen anywhere. It is not mothers who keep their boys children; it is the law. At 18 they are not yet men, the law says. Yet the UMT commission plans to throw them into an environment that few seasoned men can cope with, an environment in which, in their youth, their loneliness, their homesickness, their idleness and bewilderment, they will be the more subject to despair and evildoing.

All the home training and care given the child from birth is to be threatened by UMT. It is not true that boys are established in character by 18. The first tests of the teaching they have received come at this age, the first tentative trials of independence, and these should take place in the community, where church, home and schools are still at hand, where the neighborhood is still concerned, where a boy's friends are the friends of his childhood, not strangers whose design is too often to prey upon him, to take advantage of his youth and emptiness and his distance from home.

Who can possibly be benefited by the environment of the average military camp? Robert Hutchins says that no decent boy, no boy brought up in the average American community or in the average American home, can profit by a military environment. With Dr. Hutchins, I can imagine that a child of the slums, whose parents have never trained him in the ways of honest and clean living, who has never had a fair education, who has been badly fed and badly cared for in illness—such a boy, at 18, might possibly find something better in a military camp. But for the vast majority of American boys, for the average and even the below-average American boy, the experience of compulsory military training can give nothing but a useless exposure to low levels of thinking and behavior.

Crowded together, our boys will have little chance to know or talk with good men and women. The lower level of noncommissioned officers who will undertake their so-called education, will not be superior men, even in the army. Our boys will have no opportunity to meet really superior officers. Men like Marshall and Eisenhower will never talk to your boy or mine. Some crude sergeant, some petty corporal, a little captain will be their rulers and their tyrants, from whom there can be no appeal. Only a few boys will have a chance even at professional education—only those selected by the military themselves will be trained as doctors, dentists, engineers, and then only for strictly military purposes. All others will have a seriously interrupted education. Two to three years of their lives will be wasted.

Wasted Years

I use the word *wasted* with full intent. Have American mothers and fathers examined the statistics given out by the armed services themselves? Have we inquired of the doctors who worked in the armed forces? The facts are that the incidence of all illness, including mental illness, is so much greater in military than in civilian life that universal military training might cost us more in lives and minds than we would lose in future wars were our men trained in the usual Selective Service manner. The incidence of physical and mental illness in the environment of military life, according to statistics given out by the armed forces and the doctors under their direction, is *five times* that of men in civilian life. Our boys cannot, therefore, be better physically even if Congress approves UMT.

I am not a pacifist. The problems which produce war, generation after generation, cannot be solved by a retreat into negative pacifism. War is a disease and, like any disease, it cannot be disregarded when it is here. Disease can be eradicated only when the atmosphere which produces it is changed, so that the germs cannot develop. Certainly the atmosphere of UMT is not the one which can prevent

the growth of war. The lessons of history must not be disregarded. We must not forget that Europe, where there has been peacetime conscription for centuries, has been the center of world wars. The two victorious nations, Great Britain and the United States, did not have peacetime conscription before these wars.

Our ancestors forsook Europe, many of them, in order to escape such conscription as UMT, because they had learned by experience that where all men prepare for war, war becomes inevitable. It is strange irony that now, after winning the worst of world wars, we should believe that peace depends upon training, not for peace and the prevention of war, but for war itself and the shaping of young men's minds toward war.

There is very little time left. A few weeks from now, a month or two, it may be too late. Unless the parents of our boys declare their determination now against the yoke of universal militarism, we may find ourselves fettered and our sons absorbed into a system which is opposed to the fundamental elements of our democracy. It is easier to prevent UMT now than it will be to remove it later. The clutch of militarism upon the people of any country is strangling. Freedom is involved, the freedom of our sons to be themselves and to develop through civilian and not military education. We are a nation of civilians, our government is civilian and must always remain so. We must not allow our citizens to become militarists, under the pretext of fear. There is no reason for fear. Our strength is not in UMT and can never be. Our strength is in the high quality of our citizens, a quality which can be produced only if our nation remains free from the rule of military minds.

U.M.T.—The Dream and the Reality

Fantasy of Civilian Training Fades in Light of Completely Military Program Proposed in Legislation Submitted to Congress

AS WAS SAID earlier in this study, the proposal for UMT has a long history behind it. Many Americans, in years past, have thought how fine it would be if this nation could get rid of most of its standing armed forces and rely simply on a citizenry trained to fly to arms at the first sign of national danger. This was, in fact, the theory on which the old militia system developed. In modern times the militia has become the National Guard.

But the National Guard has not worked too well. That may be stating the case too strongly; National Guardsmen will insist that it is. It might be more accurate to say that professional military men—the generals and admirals in the Pentagon—hold that the National Guard has not worked well. They say it does not offer competent training for service in these days of highly mechanized and specialized armies, navies and airforces. When the National Guard is called into service, the Pentagon complains that it takes months and months of additional hard training before its units are fit for action. Right now, for example, certain National Guard units are being sent to Germany that were called up more than a year ago. It has taken more than a year to get this 28th Division ready, not for combat, but for occupation duty in Germany!

Former UMT Proposals Vague

So an idea has grown up that some form of universal military training could do what the Pentagon says the National Guard has failed to do. This idea has never been very clearly defined—never, that is, until the National Security Training Commission put down in black and white its actual UMT program. There have been a couple of previous commissions which played around with this idea, and there was the supposed "demonstration experiment" at Fort Knox a couple of years ago of what a model UMT would be.

What those Americans now need to do who have been sympathetic to these past vague suggestions concerning what a UMT system *might be,* is to contrast the past ideas with the present reality. When they do that they will see that the UMT dream was one thing, and the UMT reality is something far different. It is something not only far different, but *basically* different. The dream used to be that American boys would not be drafted into the armed services, but would be gathered in a sort of vast postgraduate school of good citizenship. This would be a civil enterprise, not a part of the military branches of the government. It would be guarded from all the vices which plague military camps. It would be more a civilian training center for the production of intelligent citizens than anything else.

The Fort Knox Experiment

That, essentially, was what the Compton Commission of 1947 recommended when it advocated establishing UMT. That was what the play-acting which went on at Fort Knox was designed to prove that UMT would be. Even army men who were plugging for UMT admitted that they could hardly restrain a horselaugh at the attempts which the army's publicity corps made to persuade the public that the Fort Knox training was really a sort of Sunday school with a bit of Boy Scout picnicking thrown in. Newspapers which were backing UMT nevertheless jibed at the stories about Fort Knox drill sergeants solicitously asking the boys whether their beds were comfortable and whether their food was satisfactory and whether they had any suggestions to make for improvements in the way things were being done—and above all taking care never, never, never to use a harsh or unseemly word in their drilling.

Those old commission proposals and the Fort Knox fantasy were all part of a dream world. Now comes the proposal of the President's National Security Training

Commission, which contains the actual law Congress is asked to enact, and *this is reality*. This is no flight of fancy; this is what your boy, if he is drafted into UMT, will find himself actually caught in for eight long years. Looked at in actuality, how does this UMT in the proposed law differ from the fictional UMT's the armed forces have tried to sell the American public in the past?

No Civilian Enterprise

First of all and fundamentally, as has been said, this is a military proposition, pure and simple. There is no nonsense left here about this being a civilian enterprise. The proposed law provides: "The [UMT] corps shall be a component of the land and naval forces. . . . Trainees shall be deemed members of the armed forces. . . . Persons shall be inducted into the corps as provided in the Universal Military Training and Service Act [that is to say, they shall be conscripted just as Selective Service conscripts them for the other branches of the armed forces]. . . . The Selective Service System shall administer the process of inductions into the corps."

If any doubt lingers that UMT is exclusively military, study this oath which each UMT draftee must take:

> As a member of the National Security Training Corps, I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States of America and that I will obey the orders of the officers appointed over me. So help me God.

That final oath to obey the officers appointed over UMT draftees is especially worth noting. So is the fact that Section 27 of the proposed law provides that all penalties now in the Selective Service Act (the conscription law) for infringements of that act shall apply to all drafted in UMT. The penalties which would thus be imposed would be fines up to $10,000 and/or imprisonment up to five years. Does that sound like a glorified Boy Scout picnic?

Army Morals

Even in the matter of morals, this actual UMT is the army, the navy and the airforce—nothing else. As was shown in the previous analysis of the UMT report, the UMT commission indulges in a lot of pious talk about the need to look after young boys away from home and all that sort of thing. But when it came to write its proposed UMT law it *did not write in a line* to provide moral safeguards. Instead, the whole matter of regulations covering prostitution, liquor, gambling and all that sort of thing is left up to the Department of Defense. In practice, that is going to mean leaving it up to the local commanders. The local camp commanders may take this responsibility seriously, or they may be the sort who say that the army and the navy and the airforce and the marines aren't day nurseries.

That covers just about all the features of the old dream-world UMT except the part about its being a school of creative citizenship. What survives of that in the actual UMT? Well, there is a section in the commission's recommendations—that is something else, however, that they did not include in the law they actually are submitting to Congress—which calls for three "morale" programs: one to provide worship (chapel services as in the rest of the armed forces); one to provide "character guidance" (compulsory lectures to teach "sex education, responsibility, marriage and family life, religion, moral principles, citizenship"); and one to provide "troop education" (compulsory lectures on current events and classes for illiterates and those with limited education). This may sound hopeful. But the thing to note is that this program is already under way in the present armed forces and that even the UMT commission reports that "the services have been frank to admit that the information program is somewhat less than an unqualified success." What this means, as any boy who has gone through it in the last two or three years will tell you, is that it is a washout.

End of a Dream World

And there goes the last of the dream-world UMT. Oh no, wait a minute. There is a passage in the commission's report (you will find it on page 41) in which it tells how hard the Fort Knox experiment tried "to eliminate the use of vulgar and obscene language in the UMT program." And the commission says that if "the proper attitude" can be "inculcated" in the UMT trainees, and a "firm and high-minded leadership devoted to maintaining the standards of the program" can be secured, such success as Fort Knox had in cutting down on swearing and obscenity by UMT drillmasters can, it hopes, be repeated.

So disappears the last vestige of the old dream ideas of what UMT might be. Here, in the words of the actual law which the UMT commission is presenting to Congress, is not what it might be but what *it is*. In the immortal words of Irving Berlin, "This is the army, Mr. Jones!"

An Interview with Einstein

ALBERT EINSTEIN, to whose great mind and heart America and the world owe so much, has given profound consideration to the world situation and to possible solutions of its baffling problems. While reluctant to impose his convictions upon anyone, he nevertheless did consent to answer questions that were informally proposed to him by persons connected with the American Friends Service Committee.

Question. Dr. Einstein, you have criticized the "get tough" policy, but since we seem to be making some headway by the use of this policy why should we change it for another?

Dr. Einstein. The "get tough" policy, with its ramifications, has largely united Asia against the West, and a continuation of this policy will complete this division of mankind into two hostile camps. Momentary successes must not blind us to this danger. It seems to me that the Russian conduct is induced by defensive rather than offensive motives.

Question. Do you think that war is inevitable?

Dr. Einstein. International security can be assured only by supranational organization and not by national armaments or alliances. Continual superiority on a military basis is neither desirable nor can it be maintained in the

long run. In the long run it will be the population numbers that count if we continue on the road of brute force.

Question. Universal military training is being proposed. Do you believe it represents an effective means to insure peace?

Dr. Einstein. In the long run national armament does not produce security, but only increases the danger of conflict. The alternative to UMT is world government as the exclusive source of stabilizing power.

Question. Do you have a judgment as to the educational effect on young men who take UMT? Would it militarize their minds?

Dr. Einstein. UMT will greatly contribute to the promotion of a militaristic mentality in the American people and to the undermining of the democratic spirit, as has been the case in Germany from 1870 on.

Question. What will be the judgment of other countries if we adopt UMT?

Dr. Einstein. If the United States introduces universal military training it will intensify the conviction everywhere that also in the foreseeable future the problems of the world will be decided by brute force, instead of by supranational organizations.

EDWIN RANDALL.

U.M.T. and the National Guard

Is the Pentagon Using This Proposed Reserve System to Take Over Control of All State Troops?

ALTHOUGH much comment on the UMT proposals made by the National Security Training Commission has overlooked the fact, the commission itself admits that the training in UMT camps it advocates would be useless without adding something else. So that "something else" turns out to be service for seven and a half years in the reserves. This long period of service in the reserves, says the commission, is a "vital assumption" underlying the whole UMT plan. Without this, the scheme is admittedly no good.

"The military services," says the UMT report, "point out that the desired balance of technical skills in the reserves can be achieved only if the UMT program is closely related to an effective reserve program. The multiple technical skills upon which the services depend have one feature in common—a long period of formal schooling extending in most cases beyond the period envisaged in UMT. Therefore, if the technical proficiency required for rapid mobilization and combat is to be achieved, the reserve programs must provide for the advancement of those skills which are imparted to the trainee in elementary form during UMT."

Long Period in Reserves Planned

This should be studied until its meaning is clear. What it is saying is that a boy drafted into UMT will receive only a few rudiments of military training in his six months in UMT. But after that, in the seven and a half years he must spend in the reserves, he will be instructed in the "multiple technical skills" which will make him ready for "rapid mobilization and combat." This is the "vital assumption" on which the whole UMT scheme rests.

If this reserve part of the UMT program is as "vital" as the UMT commission says it is, it is strange that the report does not give more information about it. It makes a passing reference in one place to legislation now pending before Congress, and lets it go at that. This legislation (H.R. 5426) has passed the House and is expected to pass the Senate. It sets up three classes of reserves—Ready, Standby and Retired. UMT graduates would go into the Ready Reserve. The Ready Reserve may be called to duty at any time by the President declaring an emergency. If it is called, Congress fixes the number to be called. These Ready Reserves, if called, serve for a period not to exceed 24 consecutive months.

Struggle with National Guard

Unmentioned in the UMT report is the struggle that is going on behind the political scenes over the place of the National Guard in the reserve program. The National Guard is part of the reserve. Some of the UMT boys will be expected to serve their reserve period in the Guard. There have been reports that the National Guard will, if UMT is enacted, ask Congress for the right to conscript UMT graduates to keep its ranks filled. The Guard has been having trouble about that recently. Demonstrations of the ease with which a guardsman can be called out of his business and from his home to be sent off to occupation duty in Germany or as a replacement in Korea have dampened enthusiasm for enlistment in the Guard. Likewise, many young men do not like the sort of duty in labor troubles which the National Guard sometimes is called out to render.

Some part of the 800,000 young men who are to go through UMT each year, if the commission's plan goes into effect, will go into the National Guard. How large a part? The report does not say. How will they be selected? Will it be only the ones who volunteer, or will it be another conscription? The report does not say. National Guard regiments vary in their training. Some are infantry, some machine guns, some anti-aircraft, some tanks. Will the UMT graduate who is ordered to report to the National Guard be obliged to serve in whatever type of unit is nearest his home, or will he be sent to live where there is a unit which specializes in the branch of service for which he has been given UMT basic training? The report does not say. How will the UMT graduates be divided between the National Guard and the other Organized Reserves? The report does not say.

The report does not say. That is the thing to bear in

mind about this plan for seven and a half years' service in the reserves—this "vital assumption" on which the UMT scheme rests. What this reserve training is to be, how it is to be handled, what demands it will make on America's young men—on all these matters the report is silent. And on the tense struggle which is now in progress between the Pentagon and the National Guard, the report is also silent. But members of Congress should be experienced enough to know that until this struggle is settled, the nature of the reserve system will be speculative.

Ambitions in the Pentagon

Reduced to its essentials, here is the fight over the future of the reserves as it now stands: Most of the states are proud of their National Guard regiments and intend to keep them. They favor a reserve system largely based on the National Guard plan. The Pentagon looks down its nose at the National Guard. It thinks that the Guard is riddled with local politics (as it frequently is), that its officers are frequently political appointees (and that's true, too), that the training it gives may be all right for platoons sent to break up a labor demonstration but is worthless to make men ready for combat action with large bodies of troops, and that the only way to make the Guard what today's military campaigns require would be to take it away from the states and turn it over to Pentagon control.

That is what the National Guard believes the Pentagon has been trying to do for years—wrench the Guard away from state control and place it entirely under the command of the big brass in Washington. Little by little, the Pentagon has been winning this battle. But the Guard is fighting, and in most states it has the state government behind it. Now the question is: Is this UMT plan a disguised scheme of the Pentagon to bring the National Guard—which must furnish much of the UMT reserve training—under Washington control? Those who believe in the National Guard as a state militia will want to get this cleared up and settled before they vote for UMT.

Intensive Training Required

The other side of this behind-the-scenes battle is that the Pentagon's estimate of the National Guard is, in most cases, correct. It *is* a political plaything in many states, and the military training men get in the one-night-a-week-at-the-armory and two-weeks-at-a-summer-camp system in vogue in most of the country is very sketchy. In other words, the sort of advanced technical training in the reserves which the UMT commission says must be given cannot be given in the National Guard without placing the Guard entirely under Pentagon command, staffing it with officers selected by the Pentagon, and completely transforming the nature of the service required in National Guard regiments. Obviously, under such a changed system, service in the Guard will require of the reservists many, many hours more of drill, attendance at lectures, service on field maneuvers, on practice cruises, at air bases and in camps than have ever been required before.

What the seven and a half years of service will be like in the reserve units that are not National Guard, but components of the regular army, navy, marine and air forces, the UMT report does not say. However, if this training is to produce the technical specialists the report says are required it will have to be intensive, taking up great segments of the reservist's time, frequently calling him away from his job and requiring many nights of home study in addition to regular drill and numerous periods of field training. No young man, during these seven and a half years, can make any confident plans or commitments, for he may be yanked off to active service any day. Moreover, employers will not want to entrust positions of any responsibility to young men who may at any moment be plucked out of their organizations.

Behind the vague talk in the UMT report about service in the reserves, therefore, lie all sorts of important questions. Is this to mean the end of the National Guard as a state body and its final absorption into Washington's military machine? National Guardsmen fear that it does mean just that, and regular army officers who are candid say that it must if the UMT draftees are to receive any reserve training which will make them fit for active duty.

And right there is the promise of a terrific political battle coming up. If this is a scheme to transfer control of the National Guard to Washington, it will be fought tooth and nail by Guardsmen and by most states. But if it doesn't transfer control to Washington, the army will hold that the UMT graduates who go into the Guard for their reserve service will, in most cases, never receive any training that amounts to anything.

Pentagon vs. National Guard

There's the dilemma which the UMT report tries to keep covered up. No one can tell today how this fight between the Pentagon and the National Guard will come out. In the past, the Pentagon has won minor engagements, but when it came to the showdown—that is, when it came to action by Congress which would finally take the Guard away from the states and turn it over to the Pentagon—the Guards have always rallied enough support to retain their identity as state units. They may do so again.

Either way this struggle turns out, however, no responsible member of Congress will be prepared to vote to establish a UMT system so dependent on a transformed reserve as the report of the commission says its plan is, until that reserve is actually in existence. And not until the fight between the Pentagon and the National Guard is decided can that reserve be made an actuality.

This is another part of the UMT plan—and a "vital" part, according to the report—where the commission is asking Congress and the American people to buy a pig in a poke. Let's open this "reserve" bag and see what's inside before we put our boys in it for seven and a half of the best years of their lives!

We reaffirm our support of Selective Service as the fairest means of raising the armed forces required to meet the Communist aggression. We oppose the commencement of any Universal Military Training program at this time, when the immediate manpower needs of the armed forces would preclude general operation of the program and would produce inequities as between men drafted for 24 months and those inducted for six months only.

C.I.O. National Convention.

Will U.M.T. Militarize America?

Commission Report Says There Is No Danger, But Power of the Pentagon Keeps Growing at Alarming Rate

MANY AMERICANS oppose UMT mainly because of what they believe it would do to change the character of their beloved country. The United States was established by men who had a profound aversion to militarism and all its works. The Declaration of Independence contains a list of the injuries which the militarism of King George III inflicted on the American colonies. The Constitution of the United States is based on the principle that the military power shall always be subordinate to the civil.

In every possible way, those who have made this republic great have tried to insure that it shall be kept free from the evils which militarism has inflicted on the Old World. America is full of families whose heads first came to these shores to escape from the militarism of Europe. In a real sense, they can be said to have been refugees from the UMT's of the Continent—the enforced general conscription which has been supposed to bring security but instead has brought misery.

Professional Military Caste Growing

In theory and in law, this supremacy of civil law and civil administration over the military still characterizes America. It is probably the one thing which most continues to make the United States a beacon of hope to other peoples. But there have been developments in recent years which have brought great concern to many thoughtful citizens. A large standing military force has come into being—with a professional military caste so large that in November 1951 the preparedness subcommittee of the Senate reported that there were then in Washington almost as many generals and admirals as had been there at the high point of World War II, when the nation had 12 million under arms. We had 397 generals and admirals in the Pentagon in 1945; we had 361 when the Senate subcommittee checked in 1951!

Not only is there this large, permanent professional military caste—a new thing in American life—but the Pentagon is becoming more and more the actual maker of American foreign policy and it is becoming less and less amenable to the authority of Congress. Ask any member of Congress and, if he is candid, he will tell you that the enormous appropriations now demanded by the armed forces (more than $60 billion last year!) come before Congress in such a way that Congress has no real chance to study them.

What Congress increasingly does—as the passage of gigantic military appropriations without a record vote proves—is to give the armed forces a blank check. In foreign policy it is increasingly the Pentagon, not the state department, that calls the tune. So notorious has this become that the state department is now full of generals and colonels and admirals "on loan" from the Pentagon, and key diplomatic posts are constantly being filled with army and navy men.

This is a very disturbing development, and every American who understands the principles of the U.S. Constitution knows it. Now come these other developments—the Selective Service Act and the proposal to establish Universal Military Training. The former has been accepted by the nation as an emergency measure, to remain in force only for a definite limited period (four years from June 19, 1951), or, if Congress believes the emergency over, it can be repealed before that. It requires two years of service from those drafted. But UMT is designed as a *permanent* system for conscripting all young Americans at the age of 18—except those who cannot pass the physical, mental and moral tests set by the armed forces—and keeping them under orders for eight years.

An effort has been made to spread the idea through the nation that UMT is another emergency measure. Pass it now!—quick!—before we are at war with Russia! You have heard that. UMT is *not* an emergency measure. The commission report is frank about this. It admits that UMT cannot go into effect until the present emergency is over. If Congress were to enact the UMT law which this commission asks, the law would not go into effect. It would be tucked away on the Pentagon's shelves until the emergency is over and *then* it would be brought out, dusted off and put into operation!

What Is the Real Purpose Behind UMT?

Well, if UMT is *not* a military measure to meet the present emergency, if it will *not* release young Americans from the present draft and will *not* provide soldiers for Korea and Germany and Okinawa and the airbases in Morocco, then what is it? What is its *real* purpose? There must be something more here than meets the eye. What is that "something more"?

These are the sort of questions that a lot of thoughtful Americans, after they have studied this UMT proposal, are asking. And many of them have come to the conclusion that the real purposes of UMT are:

1. To bring every American young man for eight years under exposure to and influence by the military mind.
2. To destroy the civil security of individual young Americans, to destroy civilian manpower controls, and to give the professional military caste control at all times of all Americans of fighting age.
3. To give the armed forces an excuse to continue in service hundreds, even thousands, of officers who otherwise would never be kept on active duty in peacetime.
4. Thus to inculcate in all Americans "the habit of obedience" to military command—or in other words, to militarize America.

The UMT commission knows that Americans are be-

ginning to fear this would be the result if UMT were adopted. It tries to argue that there is no danger UMT will become a means of militarizing the country. Its main argument to support this reassurance is that the UMT commission, which would be continued as nominal head of the UMT system if the proposed law passed Congress, would have three civilians to two military men on it.

> One of the basic benefits [says the commission] to be derived from the continuing nature of its [the commission's] supervision over the entire program will be the protection it provides against any possibility that UMT might become a device for militarizing our youth. The commission will always have a civilian head and a civilian majority.
>
> We think the experience that American communities have had with millions of returning veterans in both World Wars indicates that the danger of militarization is slight in any case. Men who have been through the most gruelling experiences of war have come home firmly dedicated to the democratic process. The great majority of our military leaders have themselves consistently demonstrated their devotion to the principles of civilian control and their hostility to any usurpation by the military authority.

The Pentagon brass may believe itself devoted to "the principles" of civilian control, but ask almost any member of Congress how much actual civilian control over the Pentagon now remains! And the returning veterans may be "firmly dedicated to the democratic process." Most veterans, as individuals, we believe are, or think they are. But what about the veterans' organizations? In their constant efforts to make Congress do their bidding, do they represent the democratic process? Or do they really reflect what happens when a tight little bureaucracy at veterans' headquarters ties up with the Pentagon brass to push across whatever the big brass of the active services and the big brass of the veterans' organizations demand?

Is This Democracy?

Here's a test that many readers can make for themselves. If you are a member of a veterans' organization which is demanding that Congress shall enact this UMT legislation, has your local post ever acted on it? If it has, did it act democratically? By that we mean, did it first study the question carefully, seeing that both sides were fairly presented, and then act? Or did it simply rubber-stamp a resolution which had been sent down from state or national headquarters to be rubber-stamped?

Sometimes it is argued that UMT, rather than endangering democratic principles by placing youth under control of the military mind for eight years, would actually serve democracy by forcing all young Americans into like service in the armed forces. It has been well said, however, that "coercion does not become democratic simply because it is applied to everyone. If *that* were the standard of democracy, then slavery would be democratic, and the armies of Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia would be prime examples of democracy."

Here's some more, bearing on this same point. Listen: "What democracy really means, when it is not being distorted for propaganda purposes, is the essential equality of all men, which is flagrantly denied by the army officer-caste system. It means the right to choose one's leaders, to criticize and make changes, to have a voice in the rules under which one lives, and to go on strike against injustice. *Army discipline is the exact opposite of these, and is designed to reduce each individual to the role of a cog in the state machine.* Democracies have been willing to risk this procedure in the interest of building an efficient army during a period of crisis. When they extend it permanently into peacetime, and to all citizens, they ape the very totalitarianisms they profess to abhor."

Pressure Through Impressionable Years

When the UMT commission says that the veterans who have come back from the two world wars show there is no danger of militarizing this country by a universal peacetime conscription system, what it is really saying is that most of the men who went through the mill in those wars came home utterly disgusted with the whole military machine. If they weren't officers, or jaunty "fly-boys" living on the fat of the air corps, most Americans came back fed up with the army or the navy and all their ways. That shows that the soul of democratic America is still sound!

It's a very different proposition, however, to take all the young men in the country at the impressionable age of 18, and to keep taking them year after year after year, and then for eight years to keep impressing on every one of them the idea that the nation's only dependable strength is military strength and that his first responsibility is to be ready to jump at the word of command. In ten years that would mean 8 million Americans under 30 years of age knowing they must act as the military wanted them to act and most of them—so great is the power of mass suggestion—thinking as the military wanted them to think. No danger of UMT speeding up the militarization of America? Hitler, who overthrew democracy in Germany with far fewer young brown shirts, laughs from beyond the grave!

The 'Successful Experiment' at Fort Knox

THE REPORT of the UMT commission refers frequently to the "successful experiment" at Fort Knox, doubtless in the hope that many of the facts about that "showcase" UMT either have been forgotten or were never generally known.

In the first place, the 664 boys who took part in this experiment were all willing volunteers. They were not in any sense conscripts. They volunteered for the army and in addition volunteered for the program at Fort Knox. While some were 18 and 19 years old, 320 were only 17. Instead of the ratio proposed by the armed services in the UMT commission's report of one "trainor" to two learners (which would have meant 332 "trainors"), there were 560 officers and men, "who were hand-picked—the best the regular army could offer" *(Washington Star)*.

Much was made of the fact that there was only one case of venereal disease among the 664. But no publicity was given to the fact that there were six cases among the carefully selected trainers. General health problems were so serious that in less than three and a half months 15 of the 664 trainees had to be hospitalized so long they had to be dropped from the unit. During the same period two boys

were discharged from the unit for mental health reasons.

Some responsible officers have gone so far as to attribute many casualties in Korea to Fort Knox. They say that the "cream puff" type of training, typified by Fort Knox, and intended to make the general public accept the idea that military training is "good for a boy," seriously hindered the business of training killers and so led to casualties before the men were hardened by war.

U.M.T.—The Enormous Cost

Not Only Financially But in Terms of Social Advances Made Impossible by Mounting Military Outlays, Taxpayers Should Estimate Price

ONE FEATURE of the UMT report presented to Congress by the President's National Security Training Commission is the moaning in its pages about the cost of our present military budget. Perhaps that was to be expected from a commission which has a former Republican senator and congressman as its chairman. When the commission starts talking about the financial disaster toward which our present military outlays are hastening us, it sounds much like one of Senator Taft's speeches. And there is no reason to deny that what it says is true. On the contrary, it looks these days as though the Pentagon is working overtime to spend the nation into financial disaster.

But when the commission takes off from this to argue for UMT as a way of heading off this financial disaster, it is indulging in one of the most mischievous *non sequiturs* we have run into for a long time. As has already been shown in the article on "U.M.T.—A Giant Hoax," in sections 5 and 6, UMT would not save the country money. On the contrary, it would add to the present enormous military outlays.

There Are Social Costs

There is, however, another side to this cost question connected with UMT which is worth thinking about. That is the enormous size of the cost *reckoned in social terms*. If the United States spends this much money on six-months training courses for UMT boys, how will that compare with what it is spending for all other educational purposes? Here, in a nutshell, is the answer:

UMT will cost in the first year nearly as much as is being spent for all primary and secondary education for all young Americans, boys *and* girls, between the ages of 5 and 17. Our schools, in other words, are educating nearly thirty times the same number of pupils for the same cost as UMT that first year. After that year, the amount of money required for UMT would pay for the college education of all the students now in college—three times the number there would be in UMT. Look these figures over carefully. They show that UMT is going to be a terribly expensive business if this country ever adopts it.

On this phase of the social cost of UMT we believe that members of Congress and thoughtful American citizens who are trying to make up their minds about UMT will find of interest this recent statement by the Friends (Quaker) Committee on National Legislation:

"Estimated first year's cost of UMT: $4,187,983,600. Annual recurring cost of UMT: $2,158,746,200. Compare this with what is being spent on American education. During the last school year for which statistics have been compiled, the U.S. Office of Education reports that *all public elementary and all public high schools* spent on all American youth, numbering thirty times the anticipated UMT enrollment, only a little more than the first year's cost of UMT. Below are the figures for the school year 1948-49:

Pupils enrolled between 5 and 17 years of age	24,476,568
Number of teachers, including supervisors	928,655
Teachers' salaries	$2,642,613,000
Total public school current expenditures	4,992,185,000
Total capital outlay for 24 million pupils	663,917,000

"How very expensive universal military training would be is revealed when compared with America's vaunted institutions of higher learning, which enroll nearly half of the world's college students. *In 300 years our colleges and universities have amassed in endowment about half of the first year's cost of UMT.* The $2 billion planned for military installations just for UMT is about equal to the endowment of all our colleges, and about seven times the cost of new buildings for 1,788 institutions of higher learning during 1948. Here are the totals for 1947-48—a banner year for colleges with heavy G.I. enrollment of 1,122,738, according to the U.S. Office of Education:

Enrollment (at end of third week, fall of 1947)	2,616,262
Number of faculty, full-time and part-time	223,660
Expenditures for all current purposes	$1,883,217,000
Endowment (amassed during the last three centuries)	2,252,813,000
Expansion of college buildings and facilities	306,360,000
Book value of physical plant	3,996,000,000
Total plant and endowment funds	6,493,727,000

"The ratio of faculty to students enrolled is about one in twelve. Yet in military indoctrination the ratio, including supply, is about one military personnel to every two trainees, according to the military establishment's own estimate, which the commission considers extravagant. Publicly controlled institutions spent $708 per student for educational advantages in 1947-48; privately controlled colleges averaged $578 per student enrolled. UMT would cost an estimated $2,700 for each trainee for six months."

But here are some other costs to think about. These are the things that could be done with the UMT outlay but will not be done because the taxpayer is forced to put his money into that wasteful extravagance. As long ago as

1945 Dr. Donald Dushane, secretary of one of the commissions of the National Education Association, told what was then called the military affairs committee (it is now the armed services committee) of the House of Representatives that a universal military training system would cost at least $3 billion a year. The report of the UMT commission says that it would cost a billion and a half more than that to get started, and with rising costs the estimate of $3 billion annually is probably conservative. Dr. Dushane went on to point out what $3 billion more constructively employed would do:

"Construct a ten-room modern school building in every county in the U.S.

"Construct a $50,000 library in every county in the U.S.

"Construct a $150,000 hospital in each county.

"Employ ten full-time school and public health doctors and ten full-time public health nurses in every county.

"Purchase ten new modern school buses in each county in the U.S.

"Maintain one psychiatric and behavior clinic in every county in the U.S.

"Provide ten full-time recreation and juvenile guidance workers in every county.

"Bring all schools of the country up to a reasonable standard of efficiency.

"Provide free education for the 3 million children under 18 who are not now attending school.

"Provide all the expenses of a three-year postgraduate course for 10,000 selected students each year.

"Meet the payroll of one junior college with ten instructors in every county.

"Erect a $750,000 trade and technical school in each congressional district each year.

"*And* leave an unexpended balance of $15,300,000 annually!"

Measures of Comparison

Do you realize that in two years UMT, according to the commission report, would cost more than the total valuation of all the church property in the United States —$5,234,979,598 total value of all churches; $6,346,729,800 estimated two years' cost of UMT?

If you live on a farm, think about this: For the present fiscal year, $1,064,988,627 (including $262 million for loans to farmers) has been appropriated for agricultural research, soil conservation, marketing aids and all the benefits which are distributed through the Department of Agriculture to the approximately 27 million people on U.S. farms. That is less than half of what the nation is asked to pay to keep its 800,000 18-year-olds in camp for six months under army, navy, marine and airforce training!

Or, as a final measure of the financial extravagance of this UMT proposal, think about this: UMT would cost nearly *six and a half billion* in its first two years. During that same time *the entire world,* including the United States, would spend $162 *million* for *all* activities of the United Nations, our best hope of peace. Thirty-nine times as much put into six months' drill with a rifle for our 18-year-old boys as we, and all the other nations with us, put into U.N.! Does a comparative expenditure of that sort make sense?

U.M.T.—What Can We Do About It?

Ways by Which the American People Can Bring Their Opposition to Permanent Conscription to Bear on Congress

THERE ARE ENOUGH people in free America opposed to UMT to prevent its enactment, if they know what's going on. Repeatedly the American people have said "No" to the demands of the military for UMT. Only the confusion and uncertainty connected with the frantic efforts to get UMT adopted in the midst of the present crisis have delayed rejection of the outworn plan this long.

Two things need to be said over and over to clear up the present confusion. (1) UMT has not already been enacted into law. It can be stopped. (2) UMT has nothing to do with the solution of our immediate problems. The effort to get it passed now under the "emergency" cry is a matter of strategy on the part of the military-minded. They hope to take advantage of the very confusion they have helped create to get it passed so it can be put into effect at some later time. They themselves seem persuaded that they would never succeed in getting the law passed if they should wait until UMT could actually go into operation.

There are three levels on which we can operate to block the enactment of this UMT law: (1) personal contacts, (2) organized groups, (3) congressmen and senators.

It's the members of Congress who, by their votes, will decide this issue. So whatever else is done has effect in the immediate crisis only insofar as it leads to letting members of Congress know how people feel. Of course these legislators are subject to all kinds of pressure. Some of them have deep personal convictions which are difficult to change. All of them are subject to influence from the Pentagon which, particularly when they are in the city of Washington, becomes a completely incredible pressure. Some of them are already so deeply committed one way or the other that there is only slight possibility they might change.

This is why the most effective protest is delivered in person, face to face with your own congressman or one of your senators. The time for this is, of course, between now and January 8, when Congress reassembles. Your

senators and representative will be at home during this time, almost certainly. Find out when and where they can be seen. Then go to see each one and tell him you are opposed to UMT, and why. Don't make any threats; just take it for granted that as a good public servant the man you sent to Washington wants to know what people think. Tell him you'd like to know how he feels in the matter and that you hope he will vote against any kind of UMT.

Of course you can take two or three friends along with you. Let each one have a particular point to make. Or if you have someone who wants to help but doesn't feel he can express himself too well, take him along and let his presence speak for his conviction.

Follow-up in Washington

Later you can see the congressman or senator again in Washington, if you are able to make the trip there when the legislation for UMT is under consideration. But even a trip to Washington will be more effective if, when you see him, you can remind him of the talk you had with him at home.

If you cannot possibly see him, a talk on the phone is effective. Make the same statement of your determined opposition to UMT and give one, or maybe two, good reasons for it. Tell him who you are and where you live. Don't get sidetracked onto other issues. Stick to UMT, and tell him you don't want any kind of it, particularly not now. Let him know you understand that UMT is not for the present emergency and that you think Congress should face the question of UMT at the time it would be put into effect. You can quote General MacArthur on this point. Use other quotations presented in this study.

Group Action That Helps

As a leader of the church you can work to bring your own church and other churches of your denomination and your community into effective action. Probably your denomination has a resolution which has been adopted by its national body or by the organization for your state or district. Resolutions must be made effective. Take copies in your hand when you go to see your congressman. Get your own church, and as many groups within it as possible, to adopt resolutions. Take these along. Take an individual to represent each group that has taken such action. If you do not see your congressman and senators personally, mention the resolutions and then mail copies. Do the same thing with other groups to which you belong—P.-T.A., Grange, Farm Bureau, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, educational and labor organizations.

Use every organizational channel for the distribution of information. Distribute literature in person at meetings or by mail to lists that can be secured. Speak wherever opportunity offers, or secure others to speak at every meeting where there might be opportunity to let people know that the passage of this dangerous UMT law threatens, but that it can be prevented.

Even though you do an effective job in both these items it may still be that your most effective work can be done in your personal relationships with other people. Form the habit of talking about UMT in everyday contacts. You will be surprised how many people will express willingness to do something if you tell them what can be done and assure them that it will make a difference. The grocer, the milkman, the elevator operator, the mailman, are all people who cherish freedom also.

Write letters. Write them to friends you don't see or call on the phone. Let them know what you are doing and what they can do.

Write letters to the newspapers. Tell about resolutions passed and give in each letter one or two reasons for opposing UMT. These "Letters to the Editor" are a means of gaining attention for a side which doesn't always get into the news or editorial columns. Stir other people to write such letters and help them to find good material to include in them. Always include the suggestion that readers let congressmen know their opposition to UMT.

Students Have an Opportunity

College students are in a position of great opportunity. Most of them either have had or will have some experience with the military. The very fact that they accept this burden for themselves gives them a special right to protest against forcing the same burden upon their younger brothers in time of peace, when it might reasonably be avoided. Existing groups can be used for planning action now. Then with the Christmas vacation this influence will be spread across the whole country as students go to their homes and set up focal points of effective protest.

Many wise men have pointed out that American democracy will never be lost to some foreign attack. If it is lost it will be by just some such surrender of liberty from within as would be represented by UMT. We have taken pride in the heroic measures our ancestors took to establish and to maintain democracy. Here is an opportunity to take our places beside them as real defenders of all that is so dear to us when we think with devotion and love of America.

Do You Care Enough?

What is it worth to you? Soldiers defend democracy, we tell them. Is it worth any less sacrifice to us, even though we act, if we act at all, not under any kind of compulsion but of our own choice? What each of us does, of course, will depend for its effectiveness upon how determined we are to do it.

We can stop this UMT threat. Twice before, during congressional pauses, people talked face to face and on the phone to their representatives in no uncertain terms. Only exceedingly clever political strategy on the part of the Pentagon and its allies then saved UMT from final defeat. We can stop it again, if we will. The tools are already in our hands. They are the tools of democracy—and, in the final analysis, freedom can never really be defended by any other tools.

Extra copies of this special 24-page section of The Christian Century are available at 10 cents per copy; 15 for $1.00; $5.00 per hundred. Send your order to The Christian Century, 407 South Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Illinois.

BOOKS

Two Ways to One Church

ONE AND HOLY. *By Karl Adam. Translated by Cecily Hastings. Sheed & Ward, $2.00.*
THE ONE CHURCH, IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. *By Clarence Tucker Craig. Abingdon-Cokesbury, $2.00.*

TWO BOOKS on the unity of the church could not be more alike in the deep and devout sincerity that they manifest in pleading for the oneness of the Body of Christ, or more different in the methods they suggest for its realization, the criteria of unity they propose, or the nature of the united church they envisage. Either book by itself is worth careful study. The contrast between them both clarifies the problem as seen from two widely separated points of view and reveals the remoteness of any solution which will harmonize the two views.

Karl Adam, a Roman Catholic, author of the widely read and justly admired *The Spirit of Catholicism,* boldly faces the ultimate question which lurks in the background of most ecumenical discussion, namely, How can a union be attained which will include *all* Christians—Roman Catholics, all others who call themselves Catholics, and Protestants? Clarence Craig, while by no means excluding Rome from the scope of his present concern and distant hope, proceeds on the practical assumption that a union which will include Rome is, from the Protestant point of view, so far beyond the reach of imagination that there is no use in spending words upon it. Adam's argument proves how right Craig is in this assumption.

Actually, the unity which Adam contemplates is somewhat less comprehensive than has been suggested. For religious liberals of any degree he has no use whatever. They are completely beyond the pale. "They are too small and narrow for us, and, however much they rave about the freedom of the intellect, they are not free enough for us" (p. 70). All Protestants must come back to Luther's original position (say, as of 1517-20), before it had been corrupted into anti-Catholic Lutheranism, and only then will they be in a position to give fair consideration to the proposed terms of reunion. "We must, of course, make it clear first that we are not considering the emasculated Christianity produced by the Enlightenment and German Idealist philosophy but *Luther's* Christianity, the original Lutheranism which he himself founded and built up" (p. 49).

To these "*believing* Protestants" Karl Adam offers the prospect of a reunited Christendom on the terms proposed by all Roman Catholics, from the popes down, who write on the subject—"our brothers and sisters returning to the Mother Church." However gently, persuasively and fraternally it may be phrased, it always comes to the same thing: "Because of the way in which the message of Christ is thus united with her own tradition, the Catholic Church feels and knows herself as the Church of Christ in the emphatic, exclusive sense: as the visible revelation in space and time of the redemptive powers which proceed from Christ her Head, as the Body of Christ, as the *one means of salvation.* . . . To admit even the possibility that the final union of Christendom could take place other than in her and through her would be a denial and betrayal of her most precious knowledge that she is Christ's own Church. For her there is only one true union, reunion with herself."

This carries with it, first and most necessarily, acceptance of the papacy, infallibility and all, as the rock on which the church is built; and then all the Catholic dogmas and the body of doctrine that has not yet quite reached the status of dogma, the mediatorial function of the Virgin Mary, the cult of the saints, the sacrifice of the mass, the use of Latin as the language of worship, the seven sacraments, and the ceremonial and ritual practices which the church has developed through the centuries. On the other hand, the "returning brothers" might get some fringe benefits: the privilege of singing chorales, liberty to continue Bible study, a semiclerical diaconate, and possibly marriage of the clergy if whole communions or nations having this custom should submit to Rome *en masse.* Assurance is given, also, that Protestants would not have to renounce any "true religious experience," because "it is impossible that any true religious experience should ever have to be excluded from the Church's embrace." (The ruling powers of the church would, of course, determine what religious experiences are "true.")

Notable features of Adam's work are these: first, its completely frank and unapologetic statement of the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church in head and members at the time of the Reformation; second, generous recognition of Luther's deep sincerity and profound piety and even (though less clearly and consistently) of the essentially Catholic character of his theology; and third, the nobly Christian spirit in which it urges that truth and union can be successfully sought only when love prevails, and that "nothing but this unity in love can provide the prerequisite foundation for our future unity in faith."

Equally notable weaknesses are: first, the author's failure to see that Luther's poignant religious experience, while furnishing an initial stimulus, did not involve his whole course of thought and action and the subsequent course of Protestant development in a fatal "subjectivity"; second, his attempt to limit Luther's true and legitimate function to that of merely a protester against administrative abuses, a role which might have made it possible for him to "stay in the church"; third (I say this subject to correction from better Luther scholars), a complete misunderstanding of Luther's views of man, faith and grace; fourth, complete disregard of other reforming movements which contributed to the Protestant stream and of any values which have appeared in that stream since Luther's early days; fifth, blindness to the inconsistency of holding that an ecclesiastical structure permeated with "brutality, drunkenness, gambling, avarice, simony and superstition" (p.17) was still identical with the Church which is the Body of Christ, and that a long series of popes "of scandalous life . . . stained with murder and impurity . . . sheer political jugglery . . . pleasure-loving worldliness" (p.13) were still authentic Vicars of Christ and were carrying on "the continuation through the centuries of the Messianic authority of Christ Himself"; and sixth, the complete futility of this, or any, argument which attempts to support the whole Roman Catholic system on Matt. 16:18.

Adam's chapter entitled "How is Reunion to be Achieved?" virtually opens with an answer in one sentence that can be paraphrased in three words: "Submit to Rome!" His spirit is truly fraternal, his Christian courtesy is impeccable, his manner is gracious; but the velvet glove covers an iron gauntlet. Submit!

Craig's book will be much more useful to Protestants. It deserves a full review by itself, and would get it if I were not so taken with the idea of bringing these two books into contrast. Dr. Craig, formerly of Oberlin, then of Yale Divinity School, now dean of Drew Theological Seminary, has been a tireless and highly efficient worker in the ecumenical cause. Professionally, he is among the most eminent New Testament scholars in America. By religious and intellectual conviction, he is a free-church man. Those who have had much to do with the conferences, commissions and committees that are involved in the ecumenical movement as a whole know that these have been very largely dominated by Anglican, Continental and established-church points of view. It is not considered quite polite for Americans to say this, but it is both true and important. To mention it is not to complain about it, for it is natural and inevitable that it should be so.

So much having been said, it should be added that the British and Continental brethren have been unfailingly courteous and have made every effort to be scrupulously fair in giving representation to views of the church other than their own. Still, the free-church concept is so alien to the minds of most of them, and is so likely to be brushed off as an American oddity, that it is hard to get it seriously considered. Everybody who knows anything about the mind of America knows that the American Protestant churches will never go along with any program of union which fails to give ample recognition to the voluntary principle or which seeks to impose confessional

uniformity. It would be a disaster if the ecumenical movement should find itself gradually narrowing to a European council of churches.

Something of this kind, I suspect, was in the back of Craig's mind, if not in the front of his consciousness, when he wrote this book, which began as a series of lectures at Southwestern University, Georgetown, Tex., in 1950. For Americans, it will clarify and strengthen the faith that is in them, point out the evils of division, expound the reasons for union, and guide their thinking as to the nature and faith of a united church and the way toward its attainment. For Europeans, it will be an aid to understanding that the "American idea" in regard to the church is not (or, let us say modestly, not merely) a product of frontier conditions and a phenomenon of cultural immaturity, but is grounded on authoritative teaching about the church that is to be found where it can most profitably be sought—namely, in the New Testament.

Dean Craig dodges no hard questions, not even those that are most controversial in the region in which he delivered the lectures. I do not agree with all his answers (he is a Methodist and I am not), but I do agree with most of them, and I approve without reservation the spirit and method of his approach to the whole subject. His treatment of it is realistic. No reader can doubt that he is an ardent advocate of union, but he does not tell us that we are nearer to it than we actually are. What he gives is truly a "frank appraisal of goals and obstacles," resting on a foundation of New Testament doctrine of the nature of the church.

W. E. Garrison.

CORRESPONDENCE

He Renews

SIR: Congratulations on "The Communist Confronts Us," by Richard Shaull (Nov. 28), and to the Presbyterian Church for its remarkable seminar on communism and Christianity. This one article is worth a year's subscription to The Christian Century.

New York, N. Y. Sherwood Eddy.

We Have a Program

SIR: Richard Shaull's "The Communist Confronts Us" is a profoundly convincing challenge. However, I question the author's conclusion: "The Christian church is here, in a sense, at a serious disadvantage. It has no social or economic program"; and again, "It has no specific program but it can provide an atmosphere in which Christians will be stimulated to act . . ."

Could we have a more specific program, one that better combined the social, economic, political needs of mankind with the spiritual power of love, justice and truth, than the one Jesus read from the book of Isaiah and announced as his program in the home synagogue of Nazareth?

Harriet A. Cunningham.

Bakersfield, Calif.

'Some Interesting Facts'

SIR: Having accidentally come across the Nov. 28 issue of your periodical, I would like to present some interesting facts for your reflection and serious consideration.

Richard Shaull in his article states that communism is a Christian heresy. But if this is so, how you Protestants will ever be able to combat or correct another heresy is beyond me, for it would be like seeing one sect converting another sect here in the States.

Fortunately, we have the social and economic element and means here to combat the poisonous ism, but as Mr. Shaull disclaims any desire for the spirit of light or for help from the "Angel of Light," then here is where the Old Church comes in with the essential religious, spiritual and supernatural element with which we can overcome atheistic communism.

Now kindly listen, for the following are not my words, nor words of the privileged soul who heard them, but words pronounced by our Savior himself:

"The great evil of protestantism is that error wears the mask of the truth, and deprives so many souls of a share of the graces conveyed to you through the sacraments.

"Protestants deprive themselves of the true faith because they do not accept the intercession of my Mother.

"Prayer will not do everything in bringing heretics back to the church. . . . When all members of the church live what they profess, those heretics who are souls of good will, will understand and will come to us."

I have copied these words from the "Spiritual Legacy" of a Poor Clare nun whose book was published recently. I am very sorry if in any way I have offended, but I am quite sure that you are anxious to hear the truth, just as I would be if you Protestants had any privileged souls among you who are worthy to hear Jesus tell them that he has abandoned the Old Church.

Thank you for listening and may Jesus bless and love you, and have mercy on all of you. Fr. Joseph Montagna.

Mt. Alvernia Seminary,
Wappingers Falls, N. Y.

P. S. Let us continue to pray for peace and unity.

God Not Mocked

SIR: You ask in your editorial "German Churchmen Push for Unification of Germany" (Nov. 14): "Does it mean that Germans, even leading German churchmen, are still more concerned about restoring Germany to its former power than about restoring peace?" and so on. They are much wiser, and much more concerned for peace for the whole world, than our war lords are. They know that peace in Europe is dependent on a unified and restored Germany.

Until we give up our bigotry, and are willing to give Germany the independence and justice that we claim we desire for all nations, God will not prosper *our* greedy schemes. He may even cause them to work our own ruin if we do not turn from our unchristian policies and hypocrisies and do right. We might also give up perpetrating ghastly jokes on the helpless German people, like giving and hanging up a Liberty bell in Germany.

But let us have patience. God is not mocked. All will come right in the end for the people we keep under *our* iron heel, but it may be that in bringing that about, he who orders all things may find it necessary to use Russia as the scourge to bring us to our senses. James Powys.

South Boston, Mass.

Remember the 'Practically Fresh Egg'

SIR: There is much food for thought in your editorial "Peace Talk" (Nov. 21). You do well to point out that the President's radio address was "primarily a propaganda maneuver . . . without expectation that it would be accepted."

But one thing puzzles me. You say Mr. Truman's radio address "was a good address." Later you point out that it had two serious "jokers," regarding the complete inventory and the inventory by stages, insisting upon conditions which would be primarily to America's advantage. Would not an objective appraisal recognize that these "jokers" made practically certain Russia's rejection of the proposals? Perhaps they were inserted for that purpose.

Question: How many unmended blowouts must a tire have to keep it from being "a good tire"?

Melrose, Mass. Mark R. Shaw.

Correction

SIR: As author of the news story "Press Anti-Vice Drive" in your Nov. 21 issue, I must assume most of the responsibility for an error. Sen. Lester Hunt is quoted as saying, "If the airforce has to choose between allowing servicemen to visit a gambling town and keeping them confined to

their base, it figures that gambling is the lesser evil." The words are not Sen. Hunt's but formed a summary lead paragraph of an International News Service dispatch Oct. 28. This was indicated in parentheses in my original story but was not clearly separated from the senator's quotation.

Summit, Miss. PHIL E. PIERCE.

Files Offered

SIR: The Friends Committee on National Legislation, 1000 Eleventh St., N.W., Washington, D. C., has complete 1947 and 1948 files of The Christian Century which it will make available to anybody who will pay transportation charges.

E. RAYMOND WILSON.

Washington, D. C.

Consistency

SIR: Your editorial on page 1333 (Nov. 21) concerning federal funds for hospitals was well stated. Naturally I appreciate the statement you made, being a Southern Baptist. It is certainly regrettable that any denominations are accepting federal funds for this purpose and at the same time protesting other encroachments on the church-and-state issue. I hope that they will wake up to the inconsistency of this thing.

You may be interested to know that the Missouri Baptist general association severed all connection with the trustees of the Baptist hospital of Kansas City (which hospital has not yet been built) when these trustees voted to accept federal funds.

W. C. LINK, JR.

Second Baptist Church,
Liberty, Mo.

Gnats and Camels

SIR: I agree with almost everything that has been said and written in opposition to the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. I think that Protestant Christian leaders are duty-bound to oppose it. But I sometimes wonder at the relative values seemingly placed on issues by Protestant Christian leadership in America. They go at this Vatican business with passion, and rightly so. But they seem to approve the shambles we used to know as Korea, along with the 100,000 American casualties, and the studied hypocrisy of calling it "a police action by the U.N." It seems to me that Protestant leadership is straining at gnats and swallowing camels. How can they escape the charge of picking only the safe issues to harp on?

R. C. GRIFFITH.

First Methodist Church,
Bennettsville, S. C.

No New Precedent

SIR: Your Nov. 28 issue reported the decision of Judge Harry E. Watkins in the Howard Everngam case as a new interpretation of the draft law in relation to conscientious objectors. This is an error you probably got from the Associated Press.

Selective Service regulations require that "in classifying a registrant there shall be no discrimination for or against him because of his race, creed, or color, or because of his membership or activity in any labor, political, religious, or other organization."

Judge Watkins ruled that Everngam's denial of C.O. status resulted from prejudice because of his membership in the Roman Catholic Church. This point of law had been previously established and was based on the above regulation. Nothing new was established. LYLE TATUM,

Executive Secretary.

Central Committee for C.O.'s,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Leaflets Opposing U.M.T. and Militarism

Freedom's Future Is in Your Hands. 10 cents each; $4 per 100.
Shadow of Prussianism. 5 cents each; 35 for $1; $2 per 100.
Illusion of Defense. 5 cents each; 35 for $1; $2 per 100.
Conscription and Your Boy, by Robert M. Hutchins. 5 cents each; 50 for $1.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Health. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Casualties. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Democracy. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Crime. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Peace. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Security. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Army Life. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Lawlessness. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
The Facts About Universal Military Training and Indoctrination. 10 cents each; 25 for $1; $3 per 100.
Operation High School—Exposé of Coronet film project attempt to infiltrate the high schools with doctrine of militarism. 5 cents each; 50 for $1.
Letter to a Parent. 5 cents each; 50 for $1.
Militarism in Education. (80 pages.) 25 cents each; 5 for $1.
America, Russia and the Bomb. (72 pages.) 25 cents each; 5 for $1.
The Road to War. (32 pages.) 25 cents each; 6 for $1.

Packet containing one of each of the above—$1.00.

National Council Against Conscription
1013 18th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Radio Transcriptions

Two series of short conversations opposing UMT (5 to 8 minutes), produced and transcribed for use by radio stations, are available.

One series, with rural audiences in mind, includes conversations with National Grange Master Herschel Newsome, National Farmers' Union President James Patton, Louis Bromfield, Pearl Buck, Lewis Hoskins, Senator Edwin Johnson and Congressman Dewey Short.

The other series, with women listeners more especially in mind, includes Mrs. James Wyker, President, National Council of Church Women; Mrs. Clyde Matheny, President, Ohio Council of Church women; Pearl Buck; Congressman Dewey Short; Mrs. M. E. Tilly; Rev. Dr. E. T. Dahlberg; Miss Dorothy Stevens.

These short programs are designed to be used as "guest spots" on longer programs where guests are or could be used. Copies will be furnished, on regular 16-inch discs, to any station or to anyone in charge of a program who will consider using them on the air. EDWIN RANDALL,

20 South 12th St., American Friends Service Committee.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Tomorrow Your Daughter

The first UMT commission, which reported to the President in 1947, said: "For practical reasons we exclude women *at this stage.* [Emphasis added.] However, we recognize that they have a very significant part to play in any program of national security. . . . We urge that consideration of the advisability of establishing a program for women in all possible fields of wartime importance be a function of the Commission set up to administer the universal training program for young men."

The army's plans for conscription of women, together with the case against such conscription, are described in a new pamphlet, TOMORROW YOUR DAUGHTER, published by the National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. 15 cents each; 8 for $1.

NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Anti-Vice Drive Influences Vote

Crusade Led by Protestant Ministers in Western Pennsylvania Results in Partial Defeat of Crime

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 3.—After a two-year struggle, the crusade of Protestant ministers in several western Pennsylvania counties has paid off to some degree. On Nov. 6 a revolution at the polls, partly spiritual and partly political, put a dent in Westmoreland county's tight combination of politics and racketeering. The crusade operated so effectively through organization and from the pulpit as to cause a state senator, after defeat in the race for a county commissionership, to threaten legal reprisals. In New Kensington slot machines reappeared after the elections. An alert "law and order" committee under the chairmanship of Wilfred Noble, Baptist pastor, got busy. In less than 24 hours and before the arrival of police the machines were removed from downtown stores. A. R. Armstrong, president of the New Kensington ministerial association, and members of the committee are insisting that the city administration clean up the numbers racket and other forms of vice. Results in other counties were less obvious, but leading clergymen there believe further reforms will come.

State Council of Churches Aids Migrants

With support of the home missions division of the National Council of Churches, the Pennsylvania council of churches is doing an excellent job serving the state's 8,000 migrant workers. Its jeep station wagons follow the workers from place to place with facilities for worship, Christian education, English classes, movies, clubs, handicraft, leadership training and family service. Marked decreases have been noted in hospitalization and jailing of workers. Paul Haas of Stoney Mills Creek and Alfred Bartholomew of Lancaster are directors of this work, which is supported by 23 denominations.

Ministers Intervene in Religious Controversy

An explosive religious incident in suburban Turtle Creek has been amicably adjusted through the mediation of two Protestant ministers. At a stormy meeting of the board of education, Charles Thomas, Roman Catholic parish priest, charged that Robert Laughead, junior high school civics teacher, had made "slurring and discriminatory" remarks to Catholic pupils in his classes. Mr. Laughead earnestly denied the charges. Tension had been heightened by pre-election distribution of a sample ballot marked "Let's vote Protestant." Legal aid was offered Mr. Laughead by the local chapter of Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State. Then W. Donald Whetsel, Methodist pastor, and Wray Miller, minister of the United Presbyterian Church, called upon Fr. Thomas. He agreed to withdraw the charges and to aid in securing appropriate apologies. Apparently the community is on the way to restoration of harmony.

Athletics Ruled Out in University Grant

Athletic scholarships are expressly banned in a new $300,000 grant from the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust to the University of Pittsburgh. The letter of transmittal states that scholarships from the fund are to go to students "who have an average or better than average scholastic record but who may not meet the technical requirements or conditions which limit other scholarship funds." No other tests except "character, self-discipline and ambition" shall be applied, and "athletic promise or ability shall not be a determining factor." The gift is interpreted here as setting a new pattern in the de-emphasizing of athletic subsidies.

Cathedral Priest Champions Vatican Embassy

Msgr. Andrew J. Pauley, rector of St. Paul's (Catholic) Cathedral, alleged in sermons on Nov. 4 that opponents of an American ambassadorship to the Vatican are "prostituting reason" and "torturing the Constitution." He insisted that Catholics had not asked for an ambassador and were not doing so now, directly or through a Washington lobby. Meanwhile the presbytery of Pittsburgh (Presbyterian, U.S.A.) and numerous other groups have joined in protests against the President's proposed appointment. At its November meeting the board of directors of the Allegheny county council of churches, in addition to approving formal statements of the General Board of the National Council of Churches, authorized appointment of committees to confer on this Vatican question with Pennsylvania's two senators, both of whom reside in the Pittsburgh district. The council of churchwomen of Allegheny county took similar action at an earlier meeting.

And So Forth

In his inaugural message as president of Western Theological Seminary (Presbyterian, U.S.A.) Nov. 8, Clifford E. Barbour protested against treating religion as a "family heirloom" and urged that it be preached as an activating factor for human behavior. Participants in the inaugural ceremonies included Harrison Ray Anderson, moderator of the Presbyterian, U.S.A., General Assembly. They were held in East Liberty Presbyterian Church.

Fred D. Wentzel, director of educational publications for the Evangelical and Reformed Church, and Edwin L. Cunningham, pastor of St. Paul's Baptist Church, Philadelphia, led the annual seminar on race relations sponsored by the Allegheny county council of churches at First English Lutheran Church Oct. 26.

Twenty-seven Disciples of Christ churches in Greater Pittsburgh have just concluded a two-week series of evangelistic services in Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial hall, Oakland. Raymond L. Alber, pastor of East Lincoln Christian Church, Lincoln, Neb., was the preacher.

New councils of churches are being organized in the western Pennsylvania communities of Altoona and Ellwood City.

O. M. WALTON.

Turkey Smiles on Homage to Virgin

Aware of Tourist Benefit, Government Encourages Making Holy Shrine of Mary's Reputed Abode

ISTANBUL, TURKEY, Nov. 12.—Rival claims of Ephesus and Jerusalem as the last abode of the Virgin Mary are much in the news at present. When Pope Pius last year promulgated the dogma of the bodily assumption of Mary into heaven, a campaign began here to proclaim Panaghia Kapuli, set on a hill of difficult access five miles from Ephesus, as the place whence Mary departed from earth. Since that time pilgrimages to Panaghia Kapuli have been organized with the support of local Roman Catholics. Because the pilgrimages are expected to attract foreign visitors, the Turkish government has encouraged the idea; a second Lourdes, it feels, would greatly benefit Turkey's tourist interests. However, if Ephesus is to be accepted as the Virgin's last abode, then Jerusalem will have to be discarded as claimant to that honor. The claims of Ephesus are based on local tradition, on a statement in the acts of the Council of Ephesus, and on the assumption that the church in which that council was held was the first to have been dedicated to Mary and that it would have not have been so dedicated if she had not lived in Ephesus.

Claim Based on Scripture

Strongest support for Ephesus' claim, however, is a scriptural passage, John 19:27: "Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple [John] took her unto his own home." From this it is deduced that Mary was never separated from John until her death. The argument runs that St. John must have carried the gospel to Ephesus for the first time between 37 and 48 A.D. (well before his known sojourn there). The fact that St. Paul never mentioned so exalted a predecessor as John is dismissed as without bearing on the question. Archbishop Descuffi of Smyrna declares that the reason St. Helena dedicated none of the many churches in the Holy Land to the Virgin Mary was that it was common knowledge in the 4th century that Mary had died in Ephesus and not in Jerusalem.

Commemorate Council Of Chalcedon

Commemorating the 1500th anniversary of the Council of Chalcedon, Msgr. Cassulo, Roman Catholic apostolic delegate to Turkey, celebrated a pontifical mass in the parochial church at Kadiköy (ancient Chalcedon), a suburb of Byzance. It had been announced that he would be assisted by two bishops—Msgr. Varouhas, Greek Catholic, and Msgr. Kiretshdjian, Armenian Catholic, but because of a broken arm Varouhas was unable to participate. It was the Council of Chalcedon which defeated the "Egyptian" doctrine of monophysitism and carried the day for the "western" formula—that Christ is of two distinct

natures, divine and human, united in one person. (See The Christian Century for Sept. 26, p. 1091.)

Turks Irked by New Egyptian Insults

Replying to a formal note of protest, Egypt has apologized to Turkey for the cartoon published in an Egyptian newspaper representing Turkey as a dog held in leash by the United States. In addition, the Egyptian ambassador to Turkey issued statements to the press in an effort to allay mounting anger on the part of the Turkish people. Since the cartoon was directed against the head of the Turkish state, it was inevitable that it should arouse protest. Of late there have been many other anti-Turkish manifestations, which have been deplored here. The Turkish people are particularly sensitive about implications that this nation is tied in with "imperialists" as against nationalistic Arab aspirations, since they sympathize with countries struggling for independence as they themselves once struggled—particularly if those countries happen to be Muslim. They are upset also by Egypt's objection to Middle East defense, so vital to Turkish security, and her threat to cooperate with the Soviets.

American Aid Benefits Turkey

Many of the past year's achievements which Pres. Djelal Bayar was able to report in his inaugural address to the Great National Assembly are testimony to the material aid Turkey has received from the United States. Thanks to this aid, Turkish agriculture now has 15,000 tractors and will soon have several thousand more. Use of fertilizer, importation of which has been made possible by ECA, is expanding. Public utility projects, including road-building and the introduction of irrigation and electrification, are rapidly progressing. So far Turkey has received $252 million of Marshall plan aid. Thanks also to American aid, Turkey has been able to overcome some of the great difficulties attached to the transplantation and rehabilitation of the 150,000 Turks expelled from Bulgaria. Other achievements noted by Bayar were the distribution of arable land to 18,589 families, the building of 570 new primary schools, and the addition of 2,700 beds to the nation's hospital capacity.

E. GUERON.

Buenos Aires Protestants Study Religious Living

For the first time, an interdenominational "school of religious living" was sponsored by Protestants of Buenos Aires, Argentina, Oct. 22-26. It was held at First Methodist Church, with Anglicans, Disciples, Methodists and Presbyterians represented on the list of speakers and discussion leaders.

Religious TV Program Three Years Old

"Lamp Unto My Feet," Columbia Broadcasting System television program presented by representatives of the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant faiths on Sunday afternoons, celebrated its third anniversary Nov. 21. The program emphasizes basic principles of varied religious beliefs through dramas and panel discussions.

Home Will Serve Retired Pastors

Iowa's Congregational Christians Plan Center in Grinnell—Omaha Rejects Housing Project Segregation

OMAHA, Dec. 4.—Plans have been announced by Royal J. Montgomery, superintendent emeritus of the Iowa Congregational Christian conference, for erection of the first unit of a home for retired ministers at Grinnell. To cost $130,000, the "Mayflower Home" will be financed in part by endower-tenants who will have life use of apartments, and in part by contributions from individuals, churches and the conference. Additional units will be erected as funds become available. The home will emphasize cooperative activity among its residents. There will be a craft shop, and cultural programs centering around Grinnell College will be open to the men and women in the home. Dr. Montgomery is president of the board of trustees for the proposed institution.

Omaha Housing Authority Adopts Nonsegregation Policy

On Nov. 9 the Omaha housing authority voted to end racial segregation in its low-rent federal public housing here. The resolution on the subject called for a policy of integration to be put into effect immediately in 700 units now being built, and gradually in two already occupied projects. The action was the culmination of efforts initiated several months ago by the Omaha Urban League, whose executive director is Whitney Young. In a final dramatic public meeting, petitioners from the community were marshaled by Alfred C. Kennedy, league president. Pres. George Bancroft of the Omaha council of churches testified that the council's executive committee had voted unanimously in favor of ending segregation. Discussion by members of the authority revealed that pledges had been given to people living near a new project that one side of it would be all-white. In spite of this revelation, the authority adopted the new policy with only two members voting "nay"; they later changed their vote to make the assent unanimous.

Omaha Councils Protest Vatican Appointment

Through their executive committees, the Omaha council of churches and the Omaha council of churchwomen have taken a vigorous stand against the appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican. In its statement, the church council committee called upon "those of whatever faith who prize our American freedoms and our American traditions" to protest to Pres. Truman and their senators. It declared that the proposed action "selects one church for preferential recognition which other churches neither want nor will accept," and added: "It is inconceivable that any eager ally . . . will bargain for political concessions as the price of supplying information [regarding communism] proper and within its power to give." The council asked its members to intensify their activities if the appointment is not withdrawn. Several ministers have

Faith Must Be Lived

Prescriptions in Christian Psychology

by HARRY MILTON TAYLOR

"The author writes as a real counsellor. He knows how insight grows and he has brought the skills and data of psychotherapy to a vital religion. It is comprehensive and sound . . . It will be read with great profit by laymen and it will serve wonderfully as a resource for study and nurture groups." —ROY A. BURKHART $2.50

The Life We Prize

by ELTON TRUEBLOOD

"To the many disturbed and searching laymen and ministers who are looking for a positive and effective expression and defense of those things which make 'The Life We Prize' possible, this is an extremely valuable and suggestive book. It is certainly timely and exactly what we need."—*Christian Advocate* $2.50

What On Earth Are You Doing?

Edited by WALLACE C. SPEERS

Messages by 28 laymen on the application of Christianity to everyday living

"This book represents a very important contribution, and I shall certainly take pleasure in recommending it as I have opportunity. I have read it with great interest and profit." —NORMAN VINCENT PEALE $2.00

at your bookseller

HARPER & BROTHERS

New York 16, N. Y.

dealt forthrightly with the issue from their pulpits.

Nebraska Churchmen Discuss Interchurch Cooperation

Thirty-one churches in 17 Nebraska towns were represented at the four one-day area institutes on interchurch cooperation sponsored Sept. 18-21 in Beatrice, Holdredge, Broken Bow and Albion by the Nebraska council of churches' comity commission. They considered good community life, interchurch cooperation, population and other sociological factors, church statistics and mergers. Among the leaders were Wesley Hotchkiss of the National Council of Churches, Arthur Taylor, minister of the Nebraska Congregational Christian conference, and Carrol Lemon, executive secretary of the Nebraska council of churches. The comity commission is now urging local communities to follow up the institutes with self-studies on church life and cooperation, utilizing the cooperative resources of the state council of churches for leadership and resource personnel.

HOW THIS NEW TESTAMENT CAN CHANGE YOUR LIFE

Your present Bible, most likely, is the King James Version . . . written 300 years ago and filled with expressions whose meaning is confusing to us today. Too often it lies in your home respected but neglected.

Now the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament reveals the Word of God in living language—so clear and powerful you'll find yourself turning to it more and more often.

Direct, understandable language replaces obscure old-fashioned phrases . . . yet the poetic beauty of the King James Version is preserved. And this New Testament is based on the most authoritative manuscripts—some, recently discovered, more ancient than any previously known.

Authorized Version Millions Use

The Revised Standard Version is authorized by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. Nearly two million copies have already been sold.

Let this readable, accurate, authorized New Testament help you gain all the benefit and stimulation God's Word offers in these troubled times. It can literally change your life, bring you greater peace of mind. Get it at your bookstore today.

THOMAS NELSON & SONS

19 East 47th Street • New York

CRITICAL TIMES DEMAND

GREAT PREACHING

and Great Preaching depends, in part, on having at your finger tips effective resources:

GOOD ILLUSTRATIONS
APT QUOTATIONS
QUOTABLE POETRY

Here it is: • A system of resource filing • A fellowship of sharing your best materials • A growing core-file of resources—attractive—convenient—usable—in packets of 100

ORDER NOW!

Sample packet $1; $4.50 for 5 packets; $8.50 for 10 packets. More details and free sample entries on request.

The Minister's File Service

3435 W. Van Buren St. Chicago 24, Ill.

Sponsor Conference on Churchmen at Work

A conference on "Church Men at Work" was sponsored here Nov. 10 by the Christian Laymen's League, the Omaha council of churches and the local Y.M.C.A. Lem T. Jones, president of the National Council of Churches' general department of United Church Men, and E. Urner Goodman, executive director, joined with local leaders in conducting general sessions and workshops on "making a man's work Christian," "a man's prayer life," "a churchman and his pastor" and "techniques of personal evangelism." The conference voted unanimously to instruct its steering committee to explore plans and procedures for forming an Omaha chapter of United Church Men.

And So Forth

Honored guests of Des Moines this fall were E. Stanley Jones and Frank Laubach. Dr. Jones met with the city's ministers at a luncheon Sept. 25, and in the evening addressed a mass meeting at University Christian Church in the interest of his mission for a united church. Dr. Laubach spoke in the city Oct. 11-12 under the sponsorship of the Iowa interchurch council.

At the request of the state fair board, the Iowa interchurch council sponsored Sunday school classes and worship on the fairgrounds the two Sundays the annual state fair was in progress.

In the largest Reformation rally in the city's history, 1,200 persons crowded St. Paul's Methodist Church, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on Nov. 4. Congressman Walter Judd spoke on "A Christian Faith in Today's World."

The Omaha council of churches' department of Christian education sponsored a school of Christian service on the evenings of Oct. 8, 9, 15, 16, 22 and 23. Sessions met simultaneously in churches central to the four sections of the city.

Elizabeth McLaughlin became director of Christian education for the Omaha council of churches Oct. 8. She is the second full-time member of the council staff.

Grace Evangelical and Reformed Church of Wilton Junction, Iowa, honored J. M. Newgard Oct. 21 on his 25th anniversary as pastor of the church.

The Omaha community chest, with eight new agencies participating, this year raised $1,135,514, bettering its goal of $1,127,700.

In a five-day homecoming and missions festival Sept. 26-30, First Lutheran Church of Decorah, Iowa, honored the 51 sons, 33 of them still living, whom it has sent into the ministry. The century-old church has a baptized membership of 1,841 in a town of 5,000.

W. Bruce Hadley.

Foreign Students Enroll In German Seminaries

Thirteen students from eight countries will study during the 1951-52 academic year in German theological seminaries under a program worked out by Hilfswerk and the World Council of Churches' scholarship committee.

To Educate on Vatican Issue

National Council General Board Appoints Committee—800 Attend Convocation of Southeastern Churches

Atlanta, Nov. 30.—Atlanta was host this week to two significant Protestant interchurch meetings—the bimonthly session of the National Council of Churches' General Board and the third annual Southeastern Convocation of Churches, which now works in cooperation with the council. Delegates here for the meetings met in a number of joint sessions, and the convocation had the benefit of speakers on hand for the N.C.C. board meeting.

The Vatican Issue

At the N.C.C. meeting Wednesday, Pres. Henry Knox Sherrill announced the appointment of a special committee under the chairmanship of Franklin Clark Fry of the United Lutheran Church to consider Pres. Truman's move to set up diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Its responsibility will be to develop and promote through the churches an educational program designed to spread understanding of the issues involved. Members, besides Dr. Fry, are Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Stated Clerk Eugene C. Blake of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., Pres. Ben R. Lacey of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va. (Presbyterian, U.S.), General Secretary Reuben E. Nelson of the American Baptist Convention, and Douglas Horton, minister at large for the Congregational Christian General Council. Roswell Barnes is the N.C.C. staff member assigned to the committee.

Dr. Fry urged Protestants to avoid saying that the appointment to the Vatican is "unconstitutional." "I am not sure that it is," he said, adding that there is danger lest laymen hide behind this excuse and decide not to take a stand against the appointment. Dr. Fry urged the necessity of expressing opposition now, before Congress reassembles Jan. 8, either by writing letters to senators or seeing them personally. Resolutions are the least effective means of protest, he said; the most effective is letters written by laymen and laywomen in their own words.

Budget Needs Presented

The National Council faces the difficult task of raising $1,359,854 by Dec. 31 if all its budget commitments are to be met. Some of the money needed is assured, but around $600,000 must still be found. The business and finance committee willingly assumed responsibility, and the 125 members of the national laymen and laywomen's committee are optimistic that the council will end its first year of operation with the books balanced.

Several resolutions in the field of social action and international affairs were adopted at the board meeting. Pres. Sherrill was authorized to write to Gov. Warren of Florida and Atty. Gen. McGrath urging a thorough investigation into the facts of the recent shooting of two Negro prisoners by the Lake county, Fla., sheriff.

The board approved a letter to be sent to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations assuring it of prayers for divine guidance, affirming the council's "steadfast interest in and support of" the U.N., and listing areas for which it is especially concerned: Korea, international regulation and reduction of armaments, refugee problems, steps toward collective security, technical assistance to needy areas and preservation of human rights.

Welcome Disarmament Proposals

Declaring that it is essential that the U.S. exercise its moral leadership by demonstrating its determination to discover and develop peaceful alternatives to war, the board adopted a statement welcoming the disarmament proposals laid before the U.N. General Assembly Nov. 18 by the U.S., Great Britain and France. "Without presuming to pass judgment on specific proposals," the board expressed the belief that those proposals do constitute a satisfactory basis for a workable program of disarmament. In another resolution, the board urged prompt Senate ratification of the treaty of peace with Japan, pointing out that that treaty is consistent with the statement on "The Churches and American Policy in the Far East" adopted by the former Federal Council of Churches in 1949.

It was announced that the first biennial meeting of the National Council's General Assembly will be held in Denver Dec. 9-12, 1952. Methodist Bishop Arthur J. Moore is chairman of the program committee for that meeting.

800 Attend Convocation

The three-day Southeastern Convocation of Churches got under way Tuesday evening at St. Luke's Episcopal Church with a colorful procession in which prominent churchmen marched behind the cross and denominational banners as at the constituting convention of the National Council a year ago. Then the 800 delegates heard Pres. Henry Knox Sherrill interpret the spirit and work of the National Council, and Bishop Arthur J. Moore speak on "Evangelism for Our Day and Age." Theme for the convocation was "Facing the Task of Making This a Nation Under God." The program presented the challenge of the churches working together in community, nation and world.

On Wednesday the convocation met in 13 seminars covering many areas of concern. General sessions were addressed by Moderator James R. McCain of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., on "The Moral Tone of America—Our Concern," and by Robert Giffen of the Atlanta Christian Council on keeping religion in radio and television. In a joint fellowship luncheon at noon, the convocation delegates and N.C.C. board members observed the first anniversary of the National Council of Churches. In the evening, they crowded St. Luke's Church, where Frank Laubach called for spiritual implementation of the Point Four program and Franklin Clark Fry discussed the challenge presented to Protestantism by the Vatican appointment.

On Thursday the convocation heard from various church leaders throughout the south. It presented "ecumenical citations" to 11 Protestant leaders of the southeast for their work in promoting the cause of Christian cooperation in their states or local communities. They are George Stoll, Sr., Louisville industrialist who founded the laymen's committees on institutions; Prof. Ernest Trice Thompson of Union Theological Seminary, Richmond; Donald W. Shriver, Jr., student at Union and national chairman of the United Christian Youth Movement; Pres. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College, Atlanta; Stephen F. McCready, Ocala, Fla., Episcopal layman; B. Louise Woodford of St. Petersburg, Fla., organizer of the Florida Chain of Missionary Assemblies; Henry W. Blackburn, Methodist pastor who set up the Miami council of churches; Dorothy Blount Crandall of Mobile, Ala., prominent in both local and national interdenominational activities; Edith Tesch, Salem College student and Moravian youth leader; John M. Alexander of Atlanta, director of the Protestant Radio Center of Decatur, Ga.; and Dean John Keith Benton of Vanderbilt University, president of the Tennessee council of churches.

The convocation also presented a special citation to Covenant Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, for the "opportunity it afforded its members and pastor to engage in cooperative Christian projects."

The final convocation session was addressed by Mrs. James D. Wyker, president of the N.C.C. department of United Church Women, on "Grass-Roots Ecumenicity." It concluded with a consecration service led by Dean W. J. Faulkner of the Fisk University chapel, Nashville.

HUGH D. DARSIE.

Message to PROFESSIONAL RELIGIOUS WORKERS

You're Covered!

THE MINISTERS LIFE and CASUALTY UNION policy takes the financial worry out of misfortune. You can shut the door on one uncertainty forever. That uncertainty is the ever-present possibility that sickness or accident may befall you or a member of your family. You can't anticipate these misfortunes any more than you can anticipate a fire. And you wouldn't be without fire insurance, would you?
Tailor-made for the clergyman's needs is the Union's Advance policy. It provides from $75 to $300 a month if you are laid up by either accident or sickness . . . $2,500 to $10,000 accidental death benefit . . . $2,500 to $10,000 for loss of two hands, feet, or eyes. The amounts vary according to the number of units you take. Costs vary according to age at time of application. *Available only to professional religious workers* but with hospital and surgical benefits for their families.

CLAIM CHECKS SENT AIRMAIL — Claims are settled quickly, with payment checks ordinarily going out by *air mail*. Over 30,000 casualty policies now in force.

DON'T PUT IT OFF
You can't get the Advance policy after illness or an accident strikes. It will pay you to use this coupon to make an inquiry without delay.

THE MINISTERS LIFE AND CASUALTY UNION
107 West Franklin Avenue • Minneapolis 4, Minn.

Without obligation, please send me your bulletin describing the custom-built Advance policy.

Name.....
Address.....
.....
Date of Birth.....Denomination.....

OUR 51ST YEAR

The Story of Okinawa
By Garland Evans Hopkins

Thoughtful citizens need to know the background story of America's newest responsibility under the Japanese Peace Treaty. Here is a good introduction to the Ryukyu Islands. 14 pages. 25 cents each. 3 for 50 cents. 10 cents each in lots of 25 or more. Order from

Friends of Okinawa
527 Wesley Ave. Oak Park, Ill.

Directions for Easy Puppets and Simple Plays

PUPPETS and BIBLE PLAYS

JOSIE ROBBINS and MARJORY BRACHER
Drawings by JOYCE BALTES

The first book ever published showing how puppets can be effectively used to present Bible stories! Includes simple patterns, directions, twelve Bible plays adapted for puppet theatre use. Invaluable to church school teachers, Sunday School classes, grade school teachers, puppet fans.

$1.25 at your bookstore

MUHLENBERG PRESS
Philadelphia, Pa.

THIRD PRINTING
Winning Increasing Acclaim!
The CHOICE IS ALWAYS OURS

A Psychological and Religious Synthesis
Edited by Phillips—Nixon—Howes
Part I—The Way; Part II—The Techniques; Part III—The Outcomes

A remarkable and wonderful book. I heartily recommend it to lay persons and ministers alike. ROY A. BURKHART

Persons who seek light and strength from the writings of ancient and modern seers will find this book a godsend. I personally find it most satisfying and usable. DOUGLAS HORTON

523 pages At Bookstores or $4.50

Richard R. Smith
120 East 39th Street New York 16, N. Y.

Parliament Gets 'City' Church Bill

Approval Asked for Plan to Transform London 'City' Parishes Into Nonresident Centers

LONDON, Nov. 29.—A bill will shortly be introduced in Parliament embodying the plan recently announced by the Bishop of London for transforming the City of London into a great laboratory where new methods of ministry, new spiritual experiments and new pastoral techniques may be tried out for the benefit of the church as a whole. The plan, which requires a special act of Parliament, seeks to retain and restore the famous Wren-designed churches, to permit religious ministration to the vast nonresident population of the City, to strengthen the link which already exists between the City's ecclesiastical and civic life, and to provide opportunities for specially qualified clergy. It had become obvious that no matter how much lovers of history wished to have the Wren churches retained, the reduced resident population of the City makes it impossible to operate them as parish centers. Bishop Wand proposes that they become "guild churches," whose main function would be to minister to workers in the City, with the clergy free to experiment with ways to minister more efficiently to the floating population. "It has been one of the weaknesses of the Church of England, and of all our churches, that there have been so few opportunities for the ministry of the specialist," says Dr. Wand. It is hoped that the "guild churches" may make a place for those with special qualifications.

Lack of Church Housing Brings Frustration

The lack of church buildings in new housing areas is causing much anxiety all over Britain. Permission to build adequate church halls has not been forthcoming, and as a result there is a sense of frustration. For instance, in Plymouth, a group of Methodists has this to say: "What is the point of our going out to canvass for children? We could easily get 500 or 600 children to attend our Sunday school, but we have accommodations for only 150 and must hold our Sunday school in two shifts —in a building contractor's canteen!"

China Universities Association Transfers Scene of Interest

With the closing of China to Christian missions, the work of the China Christian Universities Association, which for many years has helped support the training of Chinese Christian leaders in many professions, has almost ceased. However, the association is carrying out a new program whereby it supports Christian higher education among Chinese in Hong Kong and Malaya. The London committee, which represents the missionary societies of Great Britain, is now working with the British Board for the Vellore Christian Medical College and the India Colleges Council under a new title—Asian Christian Colleges, Joint Committee. Says Noel B. Slater, formerly secretary of the C.C.U.A., who heads the new group: "At long last it implements the idea put forward many years ago by the late William Paton, to coordinate all the work in Asia which could properly come under the title of Christian higher education."

Anglicans Issue Report On Church Music

An informative report on music in the church has been published by a special committee appointed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York. It lists four criteria for determining the suitability of music for use in churches: harmony with the words, excellence as music, fidelity to the spirit of the liturgy, and appropriateness to the conditions of the church in which it is to be played. The committee says that in a village church which cannot afford a pipe organ, a grand piano is greatly to be preferred to a harmonium or an "American" organ. It suggests that if no organist can be got, a record player might be used, particularly to provide music before and after the service, but only as a last resort during the service itself. The committee deprecated the growing tendency to use women in choirs and to banish boys altogether. It said the reason for the tendency is not so much that there are not enough boy singers but that women need less practice and give less trouble.

Nobel Prize Winners Loyal Methodist Laymen

John Cockcroft and E. T. S. Walton, the British scientists who were awarded the 1951 Nobel prize in physics for their work at Cambridge in smashing lithium atoms seven years before the discovery of uranium fission, are both active Methodist laymen. Cockcroft, now head of the Atomic Research Institute at Harwell, is a loyal member of the Central Methodist Church at Todmorden. Walton, an Ulsterman and son of an Irish Methodist minister, worships at Stephen's Green Methodist Church, Dublin.

And So Forth

The Protestant churches of Ireland have purchased a large "old world" house in Dublin for use as a home for elderly refugees and displaced persons from Europe. They are being assisted in the project by the British Council of Churches' department of interchurch aid and service to refugees.

The British and Foreign Bible Society reports that it has distributed translations of the Scripture in more than 300 African languages and dialects, and that some 40 other translations and revisions are in hand.

The British Society of Friends has sent a message to the leaders of the Russian Orthodox and Russian Baptist churches whom their representatives visited recently. In it, they expressed the hope that the friendly relations now established may be maintained and deepened, and that representatives of the Russian churches may soon be able to visit the churches of Britain.

All Saints, Paddington, London, a church for the deaf, has been reopened after restoration from bomb damage. The sermon with which the Bishop of London reopened the church was interpreted by members of the Royal Association for an audience of deaf persons from all over London.

R. O. LATHAM.

Note Protestant Work in Quebec

Interchurch Progress Is Reported at Montreal Meeting—Close Stores on Catholic Feast Days

MONTREAL, Nov. 28.—"Evangelical and Roman Christianity confront one another today as they have not in many centuries," Pres. John A. Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary told a conference on French Protestant work here. "It is therefore of the utmost importance for Protestants to consider what their attitude toward Roman Christianity should be." Dr. Mackay advised French Protestants in their work among French-Canadians not to be "anti" anything but to take their own faith seriously, to show that they are free to make up their own minds about religion. He said that the impression he got from visiting Spain last summer was that if religious liberty were proclaimed there tomorrow, 75 per cent of the people would sever all connection with the Roman Catholic Church.

See New Vigor in Quebec Protestantism

Signs of a new spirit and vision in French Protestantism in Canada were noted at the conference, which was sponsored by an interchurch committee representing the Anglican, Presbyterian, United and Baptist churches. The earliest settlers in Quebec were Huguenots, but they were later excluded from New France. In 1839 the Franco-Canadian Society was formed by English Protestants. This was disbanded in 1875 and the denominations took over their own work. By 1900 some 75 workers were serving 30,000 French Protestants. The next 40 years, however, saw a gradual decline in French work in Quebec. During the last decade progress has been made. Two French churches are now self-supporting and much literature in French is now available through the interchurch committee. However, there are no French Protestant public schools, and children are quickly Anglicized and lost to the French Protestant churches. Evangelism under cooperative auspices was urged by Claude de Mestral, secretary of the interchurch committee.

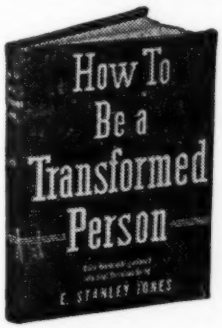
Protest Closing of Stores On Catholic Holidays

Strong oppostion has been voiced against the decision of the Montreal city council to oblige retail stores to close on six Roman Catholic holidays. The first test will come on Dec. 8, the feast of the Immaculate Conception. The new law applies to department stores and retail outlets, with exemption only for druggists, florists and tobacconists. Victor Rose, chairman of the Montreal presbytery of the United Church of Canada, described the law as an "antidemocratic method of imposing the religious view of the majority on the minority who do not share those beliefs." J. A. Johnston, minister of Westmount Baptist Church, said Protestants should unite to do something about it. Presbyterians in their regular presbytery meeting protested in a resolution that said: "It is exceedingly dangerous for the civil author-

Let **E. STANLEY JONES** show YOU

How to Be a Transformed Person

in his **NEW** book of Daily Devotional Readings



384 Pages
Pocket Size
Just $1.50

* * *

To Be Published November 26

Toward a new, mature, *transformed* life—*HOW TO BE A TRANSFORMED PERSON* will help you

—Gain a new attitude of serenity, with roots that go down into ultimate Reality

—Release your mind from worry and dissatisfaction, into peace and confidence

—Achieve radiant health in body, mind, will, and emotions

—Find the spiritual strength that will sustain you through all the storms of life.

Scripture, meditation, prayer, and affirmation for every day in the year—logical steps to transformed and effective living!

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE *Abingdon-Cokesbury*

Widespread distribution of

AN AMBASSADOR AT THE VATICAN?

from the Nov. 7 issue of

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

should not be put off

—::—

Although more than 150,000 reprints have been circulated, this does not begin to do the work of education which must be done if every American community is to understand the issues at stake. Remember that Congress re-assembles on January 8. That leaves very little time to secure an informed public opinion. Are there still those in your town who say they can't understand what all the fuss is about? Do some still think it might be a good idea for America to have an envoy at the court of the pope? This 4-page pamphlet is the best antidote to fuzzy thinking on this subject. Act today!

—::—

$3.50 for 100. **$28.50 for 1000.**

For prices on quantities of 10,000 or more inquire of

The Christian Century, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill.

ELECTRIC ORGANS
for Small Church or Chapel
Other models as low as $75. Write for catalogue on all these organs.
We can also supply you with stained glass and church furniture of all kinds.
Free Catalogue.
WHITTEMORE ASSOCIATES
16 Ashburton Place, Boston 8, Mass.

GOWNS
PULPIT·CHOIR
CONFIRMATION
BAPTISMAL
DOCTORS
MASTERS
BACHELORS
CAPS GOWNS AND HOODS
EST. 1912
BENTLEY & SIMON
7 WEST 36 ST. NEW YORK 18, N.Y.

GOWNS
·Pulpit and Choir·
Headquarters for
RELIGIOUS SUPPLIES
Church Furniture · Stoles
Embroideries · Vestments
Hangings · Communion
Sets · Altar Brass Goods
CATALOG ON REQUEST
National
CHURCH GOODS SUPPLY COMPANY
811-13 ARCH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

FOLDING CHAIRS
·IN Steel OR Wood
FOLDING BANQUET TABLES
WRITE FOR CATALOGUE AND LOW DIRECT PRICES
J. P. REDINGTON & CO.
DEPT. 56 SCRANTON 2, PA.

HELP WANTED, MALE OR FEMALE: Director Church Music, part or full time, 3 choirs, good salary, St. Paul's Methodist Church, 7th Street, Niagara Falls, New York.

PEWS, PULPIT & CHANCEL Furniture
·· EARLY DELIVERY ··
WRITE FOR CATALOGUE
J. P. REDINGTON & CO.
DEPT. 12 SCRANTON 2, PA.

ities to take upon themselves the right to enforce by civil penalties the laws of the church."

Quebec Catholic Hierarchy Urges Liquor Crackdown

Under the auspices of the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops of Quebec province, a petition is being circulated asking stricter enforcement of liquor laws and the progressive reduction of the number of licensed liquor-dispensing establishments. First result has been the raiding by police of a number of licensed restaurants in Montreal which have failed to keep the statutory hours for the sale of strong drink. Gambling also received a rude shock when 52 provincial policemen traveled 170 miles by bus from Quebec city to raid a notorious gambling den just outside Montreal. Other establishments have been raided since.

Military Leader Recommends That Missionaries Rebuild Korea

Eventual rehabilitation of the South Koreans would be better done by missionaries with money made available to them than by elaborate government agencies, Lt. Col. J. R. Stone is reported as saying in Korea. The commander of the Canadian Princess Patricia regiment is afraid of a bureaucratic approach to the situation which might concentrate on rebuilding government structures.

Canadian Chinese 'Squeezed' By Red Regime at Home

Leaders in Montreal's Chinese community report that the Communist regime in China is redoubling its efforts to squeeze money from China-born Montreal citizens. One of them said: "It is impossible to estimate the amount paid out weekly here, because most people are afraid to publicize the amount they are being forced to pay." Relatives are threatened with jail unless funds are forthcoming from Chinese-Canadians. Another Red extortion trick is to levy taxes on property holdings under their land reform laws. An ultimatum is delivered to Chinese with relatives abroad: pay the tax or suffer the consequences. Demands are repeated on some pretext or other every three months. Local Chinese have petitioned the Canadian government to allow wives of Chinese-Canadians to bring their children with them to Canada, but for the old people left in China there is little hope. DeCourcy H. Rayner.

Study Church, Industry

Ecumenical Council Sponsors Effort to Promote 'Responsible Society'

Beverwyk, Holland, Nov. 27.—On the initiative of the Dutch Protestant churches' ecumenical council, a committee has been formed to study the relation of the church to industry. It will try to find ways and means of realizing in the field of Dutch industry the "responsible society" for which the World Council of Churches appealed at its Amsterdam assembly. Committee members represent the various Protestant churches, the trade unions, industrial management and the government. Prof. W. Banning is chairman. Among the questions to be considered are the reasons for distrust (or trust) between employer and employee, the changing nature and function of the trade union, and the use of leisure time.

Visits Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa

K. H. E. Gravemeyer, general delegate of the Dutch Reformed Church, is visiting the churches of South Africa, particularly those with which the church in Holland has historical ties. Next year he will represent his church at celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the first Dutch settlement in South Africa. In the meantime, he is serving as minister at large for the Dutch who have settled in South Africa in recent years and is seeking means of obtaining membership for them in local churches. Dr. Gravemeyer will prove an able advocate in South Africa of the World Council of Churches and the ecumenical movement in general. It is known that strong propaganda for Carl McIntire's International Council of Christian Churches is being carried on among some of the smaller Dutch church groups in South Africa.

Set Up Church Office to Advise on Marriage

The Dutch Reformed Church's council on family life has opened an office for the promotion of marriages. Its aim is threefold: to keep church members from being victimized by the many widely advertised commercial "lonely hearts" or matchmaking enterprises, to help young men and women of the same church to become acquainted, and to give guidance before and after marriage. Such a church office has been contemplated for some time. It is increasingly apparent that many young people have difficulty finding marriage partners of their own faith. Often they live in communities that are almost entirely Roman Catholic, and some of them spend the years of early adulthood working abroad.

Interest in 'Divine Healing' Revives

Interest in "divine healing" has been stirred up here by the recent visits of two "spiritual therapists" from overseas—a Rev. Ronald Brown of Chicago and a Miss Richards of the English Council on Divine Healing. Mr. Brown gave a number of addresses on the matter, and Miss Richards' services in the Bethlehem Church at the Hague drew capacity crowds of the sick and infirm. "Divine healing" had long been an almost forgotten subject in the Dutch churches. But now one hears lively discussion as to whether the ministry of spiritual therapy may again become a real force in our churches.

Lutherans Plan Reunion

Reunion of the two branches of Lutheranism in this country has been decided on "in principle." The bodies concerned are the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which dates back to the 16th century, and the "restored" branch, which withdrew from the E.L.C. in the 18th century in protest against the then prevailing "rationalism." The "restored" church now has only 7 parishes, 4 preachers and 10,000 members, while the older body has 58 parishes, 49 preachers and 60,000 members. Together the two are working out a new church

order; both take their stand on the report of the 1947 Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Lund. Today Lutherans comprise less than 1 per cent of our population, and that mostly in the cities, but they were the first Protestants in the nation. The earliest Protestant martyrs in the Netherlands were followers of Martin Luther. They were burned as "heretics" in south Holland during his lifetime, in the 1520's.

And So Forth

Queen Juliana's letter to Pres. Truman presenting the problem of the many refugees still in Europe has given impetus to the relief work of the churches here. It is hoped that permanent homes may be found in Holland for another group of aged "hard core" D.P.'s.

J. H. Grulle, secretary of the Dutch Reformed Church's council which promotes good relations with the Jews, is on a study trip of several months through Palestine and other parts of the Middle East.

M. van Rhyn was recently honored on his 25th anniversary as a professor of church history at Utrecht University.

J. O. NOREL.

Churches Sponsor Labor-Management Forum

Presbyterians and Episcopalians of the Trenton, N. J., area in November sponsored four Monday evening forums on labor-management problems and the churches' relation to them. The forums were conducted in cooperation with the Rutgers Institute of Management and Labor Relations.

Atlanta's Morningside Baptist Church Has New Sanctuary

At special services Oct. 21, Morningside Baptist Church of Atlanta dedicated its beautiful $420,000 new French Gothic building on a new site at one of the highest points in the city. The structure contains a sanctuary seating 900 and a four-story educational plant with 40 classrooms and five assembly halls. Pastor at Morningside since 1944 has been James P. Wesberry, The Christian Century's correspondent for Georgia and Florida. The new address is 1700 Piedmont Ave., N. E.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children.

A Christmas Carol (British; dist. by U.A.) Mervyn Johns, Alastair Sim. *Drama.* The Dickens classic presented not with cheerful holiday gloss, but as a *somber, often chilling* study of a misanthrope's painful regeneration, set realistically against a background of poverty, social injustice and ghostly shadows. M,Y

Come Fill the Cup (War.) James Cagney, James Gleason, Raymond Massey, Phyllis Thaxter. *Drama.* Rescued from gutter by elderly Good Samaritan, pugnacious reporter conquers his apparently hopeless alcoholism after mighty struggle, devotes himself thereafter to helping other drunks emulate his success—an avocation that leads him down unexpected paths. A *vivid,* convincing picture of an alcoholic's reformation, regrettably dulled by conventional and extraneous melodramatic additions. M,Y

Mr. Belvedere Rings the Bell (Fox) Joanne Dru, Hugh Marlowe, Zero Mostel, Clifton Webb. *Comedy.* Self-styled but genuine genius of established movie series moves in on run-down parish home for the aged posing as 77-year-old, gives near-senile occupants new zest for life by introducing them to hedonistic pranks and attitudes long frowned upon, confounding the stuffy church overseers. Webb's dry humor makes for witty footage, but *effect is marred by* making senility food for comedy, *sly ridicule of religious standards and motivations.* M,Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Alice in Wonderland, An American in Paris, Beaver Valley, Cattle Drive, Excuse My Dust, Follow the Sun, The Frogmen, Go for Broke, The Great Caruso, Jim Thorpe—All-American, Kon-Tiki, The Magnet, Nature's Half Acre, No Highway in the Sky, You're in the Navy Now.

For Mature Audience: The Big Carnival, Bright Victory, Captain Horatio Hornblower, Cyrano de Bergerac, David and Bathsheba, Fourteen Hours, God Needs Men, The Lavender Hill Mob, Oliver Twist, A Place in the Sun, The Red Badge of Courage, The River, A Streetcar Named Desire, Teresa, Trio. 12-19-51

JUST PUBLISHED!

Vest pocket edition of the

MOFFATT NEW TESTAMENT *with* PSALMS

Printed from new plates on lovely Micropake India, only ¼" thick. Size, 2¼" x 3¼". These deluxe Testaments in the great modern translation by James Moffatt make wonderful gifts for holidays, anniversaries, and special occasions. You will want one for yourself when you see them!

Leather, overlapping, No. M44x, $4.75. Black Morocco, overlapping, leather lined, No. M47x, $7.00. Same as M47x, but Maroon binding (M48x), $7.50. Same in Blue (M49x), Red (M50x), Brown (M51x), each $7.50

Slips into a vest pocket easily!

On sale at leading bookstores throughout the country

HARPER & BROTHERS, *Publishers,* New York 16, N. Y.

CAMP AND CONFERENCE DIRECTORS

• • • • value and recommend our prompt courteous payment of medical bills for campers

WRITE

BROTHERHOOD MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

230 E. BERRY STREET FORT WAYNE 2, INDIANA

Says Newsweek: "Through its liberal, undenominational policies, The Christian Century has become the most important organ of Protestant opinion in the world today." Want to know why? Try a 13-week trial subscription and see. Fill in the coupon, attach a $1 bill, and mail.

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

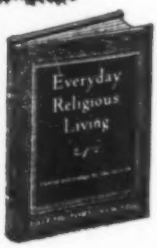
City ..... State .....

MAIL TO THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY, 407 S. DEARBORN ST., CHICAGO 5, ILL.

BARTLETT COLLEGE LIBRARY

The Religious Books of the Year

To Own---To Use---To Give

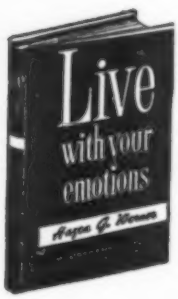


EVERYDAY RELIGIOUS LIVING

JOSEPH FORT NEWTON. Dr. Newton's warm personal concern for people in any sort of need shines through these pages in all its winsome power. From the sixty-five brief devotional messages—each based on a text from the Bible—every reader will draw faith and strength to withstand the small anxieties of every day, and renewed inspiration for joyous Christian living. POCKET SIZE. $1.25

LIVE WITH YOUR EMOTIONS

HAZEN G. WERNER. You *can* build the life you want, says Bishop Werner—a life of serenity, spiritual peace, abiding happiness—with the help of insights into your emotions and with the Christian faith. Here he shows how people have freed themselves from frustration, fear, undesirable habits, and achieved the self-mastery that leads to integrated, purposeful living. $2.50



HANDBOOK OF DENOMINATIONS in the United States

FRANK S. MEAD. "The outstandingly authoritative reference book on 255 denominations . . . consists of clear and concise statement of the history, doctrinal characteristics, organization and present status of each denomination."—*Telescope Messenger*

"A remarkable compilation of material for everyone interested in the doctrine and pertinent facts of his own church and those of his religious neighbors."—*San Francisco Call Bulletin* $2.75

COMMUNION MEDITATIONS

GASTON FOOTE. "Twenty-five brief and pointed meditations from a host of well-known preachers."—*Advance*

"A long-awaited volume in answer to a deep-felt need for guidance and example as to what can be done to enlarge the significance and inspiration of . . . the Lord's Supper."—*Expositor* $2

A PLANNED PROGRAM FOR THE CHURCH YEAR

WELDON CROSSLAND. "A deep sense of the spiritual objectives of church life is happily conjoined with solid know-how to make the book extremely helpful to any Christian minister."—*The Christian-Evangelist*

"A book for thoughtful laymen."—*Christian Advocate* $2

PASTORAL CARE

Edited by J. Richard Spann. Nineteen outstanding pastors and counselors here combine their experience and insight with new findings in psychology and psychiatry—offering every pastor sound principles and tested methods of meeting his people's personal needs. $2.50

PREACHING FROM PROPHETIC BOOKS

ANDREW W. BLACKWOOD. For every minister, student, or teacher who seeks practical ways to make vital truth appealing—a sound guide to preparing sermons that meet the needs of men today by the power of God's Word. $2.50

SO WE BELIEVE, SO WE PRAY

GEORGE A. BUTTRICK. "An admirable and persuasive exposition of the fundamentals of Christian belief, . . . of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer. There is real profundity of thought veiled in interesting and simple language with abundant illustrations—a book from which the scholar will learn something, and which the laymen will find again and again illuminating."—*The Expository Times*

"Gives body and substance to our faith and direction to our prayer."—*International Journal of Religious Education* $2.75

THE ONE CHURCH in the Light of the New Testament

CLARENCE TUCKER CRAIG. A searching analysis of the goal of the Ecumenical Movement—a forthright, provocative examination which faces contemporary and historical denominational differences and points the way to their resolution. "A challenge to clear thinking."—*Boston Traveler* $2

HOW TO BE A TRANSFORMED PERSON

E. STANLEY JONES. The new book of daily devotions—your key to a new, richer, happier life—a *transformed* life. Practical, day-by-day guidance out of worry and frustration into radiant health of body, mind and emotions—into integrated, victorious living.

384 PAGES. POCKET SIZE. $1.50

MEDITATIONS

GRACE NOLL CROWELL. "These 26 meditations . . . will appeal to women everywhere. . . . For group worship, here is a wealth of ideas; for private devotions, these are meditations to inspire the most genuine searching of the heart."—*Church Woman* $1.50

SAINTS WITHOUT HALOS

ALVIN E. MAGARY. "Vivid and colorful biographical sketches of 200 early members of the Church."—*Saturday Review of Literature*

"Well worth use by persons who wish to see how fresh Christian people and Christian principles of the first century seem for us today."—*Christian Advocate* $2

CHARIOTS OF FIRE

CLARENCE E. MACARTNEY. Discerning biographical sermons which bring to life, in all their human weakness and God-given strength, seventeen little-known, colorful men and women of the Bible who have a special and timely message for Christians of our day. $2

THE REDEEMER

WILLIAM R. CANNON. "Deserves grateful study by all those who are seriously interested in the intelligent appraisal of the work and person of Jesus Christ."—*World Outlook* $2.75

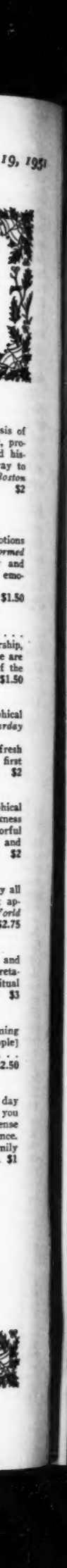
CHRISTIAN LOVE

PAUL E. JOHNSON. "New insights into the heights and depths of a profound subject, . . . refreshing interpretations of the greatest force in the moral and spiritual arsenals of mankind."—*The Living Church* $3

RESTORING WORSHIP

CLARICE BOWMAN. "Tells in vivid and entertaining style how [men and women, children and young people] may be led . . . into a deeper fellowship with God . . . Excellent and useful."—*World Outlook* $2.50

BEGINNING THE DAY

HENRY M. EDMONDS. Morning prayers for every day in the year—brief moments of meditation to help arm you spiritually for the day's demands—revealing a deep sense of devotion, and a joyful trust in God's care and guidance. Excellent for personal use, for more meaningful family devotions. POCKET SIZE. $1

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE *Abingdon-Cokesbury*